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ON THE COVER:
May Co. employees greet Dodgers, Los Angeles, 1958.
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A quarterly journal published by CHS since 1922, *California History* features articles by leading scholars and writers focusing on the heritage of California and the West from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, pictorial essays, and book reviews examine the ongoing dialogue between the past and the present. Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*.

FROM THE EDITOR

Place matters. Anywhere at all; anywhere you roam, if you stop to think about it, place matters.

Conservation of forests in the place called Kenya, and sustainability of ecologies there, have been the focus of Kenyan environmentalist Wangari Maathai who sees the problem of forest clearing in Kenya as a plague based in corruption and greed that is no less than a matter of life and death for the nation. She won the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize for her contribution to sustainable development, democracy, and peace.

Wangari Maathai's environmental battle—not yet won, but now recognized internationally and extravagantly—is an instance of bravura activism poised to fortify thousands of other sustainability struggles. Such might be the case for *Clemmys marmorata*, the terrapin usually known as the western pond turtle, the single native fresh-water turtle west of the Sierra Nevada. Once plentiful in the soup terrines of posh eateries, the turtle species now faces endangered status due to that fishery exploitation and habitat loss. In this issue, ecologist Matthew Bettelheim has scrutinized legacy scientific research and herpetological archival materials to build the story of *marmorata's* place at the intersection of California's natural and human history.

Adam Arenson's historical meditation, "Ansel Adams' *Eucalyptus Tree, Fort Ross:* Nature, Photography, and the Search for California," weaves together a number of themes that indeed define California as a place, such as environmental consciousness, successive waves of human and botanical immigration, and icon building via the camera lens. The result is highly imaginative and mysteriously memorable.

In an excerpt from *The Golden Game: The Story of California Baseball*, recently co-published by the California Historical Society Press and Heyday Books, sports historian Kevin Nelson sets the scene for the exquisite clash of California places, San Francisco and Los Angeles, in "Los Angeles Dodgers vs. San Francisco Giants, April 1958." Surely the Giants' move from New York to S.F., and the Brooklyn bums' continental shift, exerted powerful marks on place, group memory, and tradition.

Step up to the plate (as it were) and turn the pages. In this issue, place rules.

JANET FIREMAN
Editor

Sweetheart of the Rodeo

Fascinated since childhood by stories of the Wild West, Jo Mora, born Joseph Jacinto Mora (1876–1947) in Montevideo, Uruguay, created posters, photographs, and sculptures that broadened conceptions of the mythic West to include Californios, women, and sympathetic depictions of American Indians.

The son of sculptor Domingo Mora from Catalonia, Spain, and Laura Guillard, a French woman from Alsace-Lorraine, Mora immigrated with his family to New England, where Mora and his brother Francis Luis studied art. After studying with painter William Merritt Chase and the Art Students League in New York, Mora roamed west, working as a wrangler and a cow puncher in the Southwest in Texas.

A rodeo cowboy rides a bucking bronco in a detail from Joe Mora's "Evolution of the Cowboy."
From the California Historical Society Fine Arts Collections.

Bull Riding
Steer decorating
Calf roping & tying
The Cowboy-Buckaroo-Vaquero Puncher. His Chaps (shaps) the spanish Chapareras are varied in style Years past it was easier to pick the Puncher's home range by the rig he wore. Today the auto & movies have messed the deck. His string is called rope-reata-lasso-lariat. Reatas are rawhide. Grass ropes Manila hemp or Mexican Maguey
ARMAS. cowhide hanging from saddle forks. Cactus country. Mex.
His saddle has changed in detail only the forks showing the greatest variation. The old slick fork blossomed into a modern freak that went loco up to 12 inches wide. But we're going back to normal for the stockman needs a working tool. My space is limited—I've tried to show briefly the evolution of the Cowboy, his methods & his tools. To the old Stockman it's a well known story. I hope the others will enjoy it.
OLD CALIFORNIA SADDLE
SPANISH SADDLE. A POPULAR TYPE IN OUR EARLY WEST
THE 20TH CENTURY USHERED IN THE BULGED FORK—JOCKEYS AND SEAT ONE PIECE. CLOSED SEAT, COVERING UPPER STIRRUP LEATHERS
A REMARKABLE SADDLE THAT HAS WEATHERED THE CHANGING FASHIONS: THE DE WALKER ROPER. IT ORIGINATED IN THE 70'S
EVOLUTION OF THE SADDLE FORK
TEAM ROPING
SINGLE MAN ROPING
I dedicate this Carte of Evolution to The California Rodeo of Salinas my friends. How come? Oyez. Red brothers own land comes Conquistador. cold steel—brings Cows & Ponies + good grass enter Spanish Vaquero. couple centuries ceaseless Gringo drifts West: Buffalo gone the Longhorns make great trails North American Cowboy born. We live fast. nester plows free range under. subdivisions change horizon. Cowboy reign swift & reckless. He's blending today with the Dude & the Derby. Let's perpetuate the breed it's an American Animal & American only.
JO MORA
STOCK SADDLE RIGS
CENTER FIRE RIG
DOUBLE RIG
BRANDS

In 1906, Mora settled in Santa Clara County with his wife, Grace. Here he began a long career in art, winning awards for his sculpture at the Panama Pacific International Exhibition in 1915 and receiving many commissions and graphic arts assignments. By 1921 the Mora family moved to Carmel, where Mora produced one of his most monumental works, the sarcophagus for Father Junipero Serra at Carmel Mission, completed and installed in 1924. In Carmel, he taught art classes, and worked on architectural elements for public buildings from Los Angeles to Boston to Portland, Oregon.

Mora enjoyed creating advertising art, and his drawings and illustrations could be found on menus, products and advertisements for the Hotel Del Monte, the Carmel Dairy, and Pop Ernest's Seafood Restaurant in Monterey. He made numerous humorous and detailed maps of Carmel, Yosemite, Los Angeles, and San Diego.

Mora illustrated many books and authored *A Log of the Spanish Main* (1933), *Trail Dust and Saddle Leather* (1946), and his posthumous publication *Californios* (1949).

Collections Sources:
Mitchell, Stephen. *Jo Mora, Renaissance Man of the West.* (Ketchum, ID: Dober Hill Ltd./Stoecklein Publishing, 1994).

Monterey Museum of Art.
Jo Mora, Artist and Writer. (Monterey: Monterey Museum of Art, 1998).

Originally published as "The Evolution of the Cowboy," Jo Mora's 1933 lithograph shows how cowboy gear and get-ups evolved from the time of the Spanish conquistadors to the rodeo riders of the 1930s. The sweet image of the cowgirl was the source for the cover of the Byrds' 1968 album Sweetheart of the Rodeo.

Silver and Gold in Northern San Diego County

By Kathy Talley-Jones

We all fantasize about winning things—the California Lottery, say, or the new convertible Mini Cooper on the public radio pledge drive. So winning a night at the Pala Indian Casino in northern San Diego County was—if not a dream come true—a great opportunity to get out of Los Angeles during the end-of-year madness.

My husband John and I had passed through the Pala Indian Reservation while exploring northern San Diego County's back country in the past but had never stopped at the Mission San Antonio de Pala. It had looked private and modest, and I hadn't wanted to intrude on what clearly was a working church and not a tourist attraction. I knew from a presentation at a conclave given by California Indians in conjunction with California State Parks that Cupeño and some Kumeyaay Indians had been forced to leave their homes and settle at the mission.

Part of the band had called themselves the Kuupangaxwichem, or "people who slept here." They had originally lived in a settlement called Cupa and were forcibly relocated by government authorities in 1903 to join the Luiseño who lived there already. Rosinda Nolasquez—survivor of the expulsion—later testified that "Many carts stood there by the doors. People came from La Mesa, from Santa Ysabel, from Wilakal, from San Ignacio . . . to see their relatives. They cried a lot. And they just threw our belongings, our clothes, into carts. . . ."

As the tribe's website notes, "the Pala Indians are an industrious people, however, there are few jobs and little economic activity to stimulate the local economy." Hence the casino. We approached it by night, which meant that the Big Box developments that stretch from Corona to Temecula were hidden and not as depressing as they are when you drive down Interstate 15 from Los Angeles during the day. We saw the Pechanga casino from the freeway, garish bright lights that are probably visible from Mars. The Pala casino, in contrast, was lit by golden yellow lights—symbolic of the winnings possible within? But more about those golden lights later.

While it would be a stretch to call t Pala casino elegant, it is, well, taste ful. For a casino that has dozens o one-armed bandits with names like "Jackpot Party" and "Hexbreaker," the non-gaming areas were calm a nicely designed. It opened in 2001 and still feels brand-new. Evidence its tribal connection can be found i displays about traditional gambling games played by southern California' native peoples—there were several period photographs from the earl twentieth century and some tradi tional game implements.

I was astonished at daylight to fin that the casino has a back deck that overlooks the San Luis Rey River. Re winged blackbirds cadged crumbs from early breakfasters or gamblers having a last Bloody Mary before goin to bed. Unusually athletic coots—it

THE DOME OF THE HALE TELESCOPE AT MOUNT PALOMAR. *The 200-inch telescope is a landmark in the history of astronomy. Inaugurated in 1948, it is still an important tool in the study of asteroids, comets, and the Milky Way.*
PHOTO: KATHY TALLEY-JONES

must have been the warm weather—chased each other across the water. The wonderful deck is reason enough to linger at the casino, and the architect should be commended.

John's holy grail has long been to buy a mug at the Mount Palomar gift shop, since it was closed the last time we were up there, so we headed up the mountain as soon as we thought it might be open. The route is a motorist's mecca, and we passed the usual packs of Harleys, a squadron of vintage Porsche 911s and 912s, and a flock of colorful Mini Coopers, including the coveted convertible. The cars passed hardy bicyclists, all intent on torturing themselves with the closest thing San Diego County offers to the Alpe d'Huez experience.

Mount Palomar Observatory is a jewel among observatories. Constructed in 1936 and incorporating hints of Art Deco design, it has all the glamour and fame of a movie star of that era. Think Jean Harlow with her white-blonde hair and slinky silver dress. Installation of the Hale telescope's 200-inch mirror was delayed by World War II, and it saw first light in 1948.

The observatory is not just a shrine to George Ellery Hale's ambition to build the world's largest telescope, but has been upgraded by Caltech, which operates the astronomical complex, with new electronics that make it one hundred times more sensitive than it was sixty years ago.

We had been lucky enough to see the big mirror moved back into its cradle at the Mount Wilson Observatory the year before. It had been resilvered, and six engineers had settled it exactly back into place, measuring the gap between the mirror and its cradle using *wooden rulers*. It had been like a glimpse back in time. Nothing that exciting was going on at Mount Palomar, but like a casino, the thrills don't really start at an observatory until the sun sets.

After checking out a vintage display on the advances of 1960s-era astronomy (distant galaxies! pulsars! quasars!), John bought his Palomar Observatory mug, which has contributed greatly to his happiness and sense of well-being ever since. We asked the cashier what she thought about the casino, and she said she was glad it had installed the mercury vapor lights, which didn't add much light pollution to the night sky. Thus the golden glow.

The town of Julian is a short trek down the mountain. The former 1870s mining camp attracts people interested in objects such as teddy bears and teddy bear accessories—and apple pie. Fortunately for those of us who are not very interested in teddy bears or pie, there's a great used bookstore, the Old Julian Book House, just past the half-dozen apple pie cafes. The huge Cedar Fire in October 2003 licked the edges of Julian, but the conflagration spared most of the town.

I asked the bookstore clerk what that had been like. He had abandoned his newly built Victorian house and the firefighters had dragged their hoses right through. It was a mess but the house was saved. And the casino? Well, he didn't like all the congested and sometimes tipsy traffic along the narrow and winding Highway 76, but he was glad that the casino brought work and prosperity to a sector of the economy that needed a boost.

Because we got lost and somehow ended up in Escondido, we never did make it to the Pala Mission. The road bypasses it now, making it even more private than it seemed years before. When we got gas at the station next to the casino for our drive back up to Los Angeles, however, a truck pulled up behind us. It had huge tires and was bigger than our Pasadena bungalow—and probably as energy-efficient. A feathered dream-catcher hung from the mirror and the license plate said INDIAN POWER.

Kathy Talley-Jones is managing editor of *California History*.

RESOURCES

Pala Indian Tribal Website
http://www.palaindians. com/

George Harwood Phillips, *Indians and Indian Agents: The Origins of the Reservation System in California, 1849-1852* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973).

Pala Casino, Resort, Spa
11154 Highway 76 Pala, CA 92059 USA
1-877-WIN-PALA (1-877-946-7252)

Mount Palomar
http://www.astro.caltech.edu/observatories/palomar/

Julian Chamber of Commerce
http://www.julianca.com/

Landmarks

by Kathy Talley-Jones

"Don't step there!" My friend Harrison has a seven-year-old's keen interest in gross things, and I look on the sidewalk for chewing gum, dead worms, or worst of all, dog poop. There's nothing there.

"I don't see anything."

"Cooties," he says. "Taylor threw up there."

"When did he throw up there?" I ask, thinking it might have been that morning. But there aren't any stains on the sidewalk.

"She threw up there the day after Halloween," Harrison gives me the details. It's New Year's, and Taylor's overindulgence was A Long Time Ago by seven-year-old standards, but to Harrison it's still vivid. He points out other landmarks: just where he stood when he saw the bicycle his father brought home for Christmas. A spot where a storm blew down a squirrel's nest. Behind his house where men blew up a big boulder in what had once been a field so they could squeeze in four more houses.

Harrison's personal cognitive map of his neighborhood doesn't include local historical landmarks; he's just reaching the developmental stage where he's grasping the idea of History. When he gets to third grade, however, he will start to study what he has already experienced: the continuity and change of the cultural and physical landscape of California. He'll learn more about his own community of Rocklin, Placer County, and the greater Sacramento area. The California state history and social science standards determine that:

> "Students in grade three learn more about our connections to the past and the ways in which particularly local, but also regional and national, government and traditions have developed and left their marks on current society, providing common memories. Emphasis is on the physical and cultural landscape of California, including the study of American Indians, the subsequent arrival of immigrants, and the impact they have had in forming the character of our contemporary society."

Many California counties have excellent online resources developed in conjunction with the California Department of Education. For example, Butte County offers course models for California history and social science. A contribution by teachers in Los Angeles leads third graders through an exploration of their local surroundings that includes the way soil, water, and landforms have affected their city's history. Suggestions for readings, including a resource list of atlases suitable for third-graders, are included as well as class activities that involve creating a map that shows local landforms and landmarks.

Historic Spots in California, reviewed in this issue of *California History*, provides a guide to and description of statewide sites useful for such a student project and gives the lie to classic student complaints that "nothing ever happened here."

WHY LANDMARKS?

What is a landmark and why do w consider certain places to be more important than others? Why spend time and money to protect them? These are questions that members of the cultural community asked te years ago in the wake of the Los Angeles riots of 1992 when vast block of the city went up in flames. Asked Dr. Mahasti Afshar of the Getty Con servation Institute, "What is the rationale for conservation in a world driven by change, by an astronomical energy to produce, consume, and develop, then destroy the old to make room for the new? What is the value of place and permanence to an increasingly mobile citizenry with mixed ethnic and cultural identities and cross-historical memories? And how should it manage change —preserving the past while helping to create the future?"

The Getty Conservation Institute developed "Teaching Landmarks," a curriculum unit for middle school that led students to identify their own landmarks and those of others in their community, to learn why landmarks are significant, identify how landmarks define the identity of groups, communities, cities, and nations, and document landmarks through photography, memoirs, painting, and other media.

The curriculum's underlying premise is that if students come face-to-face with their landmarks and if they see the built environment as an extension of their cultural history and its outstanding features as an embodiment of their personal and social

identities, they will develop a sense of caring for it. These feelings, in turn, will help prevent landmarks from being neglected or abused.

As he explores local history, my young friend Harrison will find that his community is especially rich in Gold Rush landmarks, which has left its legacy in the county's name: Placer County. Harrison, who is very interested in trains, may also find himself intrigued by the town of Rocklin's role as a major terminal for the Central Pacific Railroad in 1864.

Inspired by Ansel Adams's photograph of Fort Ross (see Adam Arenson, "Ansel Adams's *Eucalyptus, Fort Ross*," pages 10-25), Harrison and I take a camera and see if we can find the terminal. But nothing remains, and the site is as intangible as the spot where Taylor lost her Halloween candy. We'll have to go to nearby Roseville if we want landmarks celebrating the construction of the transcontinental railroad. Meanwhile, we take a few pictures of a historical marker and look for ice cream.

"Teaching California" is a column intended to provide resources to teachers, parents, and students for integrating the study of Cali-fornia and its peoples for students in elementary, middle, and high school. California History *welcomes feedback about this column and encourages teachers, students, and cultural organizations to share their strategies for teaching California history by contacting Kathy Talley-Jones at ktalley @lmu.edu.*

RESOURCES

California Department of Education, California: Statehood and Beyond, Recommended Resources for Kindergarten through Twelfth Grade. *http:// www.cde.ca.gov/ ci/ cr/lb/documents/ statehoodandbeyond.pdf An addendum created in 2002 http://www. cde.ca.gov/ci/cr/ lb/documents/ sthdbynd.pdf*

Center for History-Social Science Education, California State University, Dominguez Hills, "Exploring the Local Landscape," http://www.history.ctaponline.org/center/hsscm/index.cfm?Page_Key=1149

Fort Ross State Historic Park: Classroom and Home Curriculum, http://www.mcn.org/1/rrparks/fortross/

Getty Conservation Institute. Picture LA: Landmarks of a New Generation. *Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 1994. (Also, Picture* Cape Town, Picture Mumbai, Picture Mexico City.)

Getty Conservation Institute, "Teaching Landmarks," http://www.getty.edu/ artsednet/resources/Landmarks/index.html

Kyle, Douglas E. Historic Spots in California *(Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).*

Local History Resources Online, Suitable for Third Graders http://score.rims.k12.ca.us/cgibin/DB_Search/db_search.cgi?setup_file=resource3_db.setup.cgi&include=true&grade3=3_3c&submit_search=Submit+These+Search+Parameters

Placer County History and Social Science standards http://www.placercoe.k12. ca.us/archived/pcoe/departments/curriculum/standards/hss_3nd.PDF

San Bernardino County Schools, Connecting California's Classrooms to the World *http://score.rims.k12.ca.us/ index. html*

Watts high school student Sabrina Paschal sought out her personal landmarks and photographed the Century Freeway from Imperial Highway.
COURTESY GETTY CONSERVATION INSTITUTE, *PICTURE LA: LANDMARKS OF A NEW GENERATION*. J. PAUL GETTY TRUST

Ansel Adams's *Eucalyptus Tree, Fort Ross:*

Nature, Photography, and the Search for California

By Adam Arenson

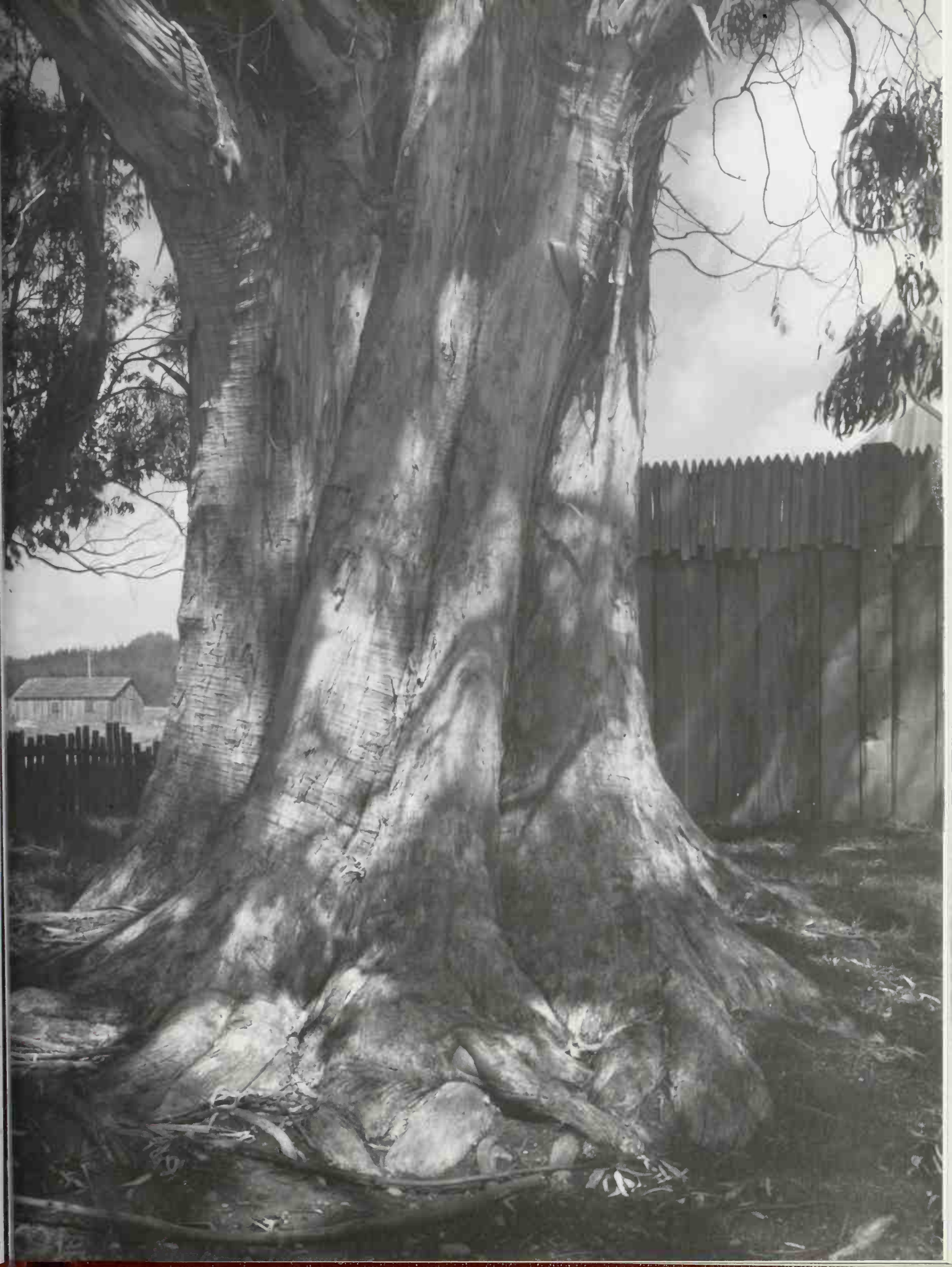
As Ansel Adams prepared for the exhibition of his *Singular Images* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1974, he looked back over his illustrious career and complained. "Curator after curator had chosen the same small group of landscapes," he wrote. Approaching the Met exhibition, Adams argued that "I wanted this show to have a broader perspective, to show some of my portraits and a sizable excerpt of my work with Polaroid Land materials, a project that I had followed for over twenty years." And so he presented fifty-two practically unknown images—portraits, profiles of urban architecture, extreme close-ups. Amongst these gems of the mature Adams oeuvre, one remarkable photograph stands out: *Eucalyptus Tree, Fort Ross, California* (1969).[1]

In this vertical photograph, more portrait than landscape, the stately eucalyptus dominates the frame. Adams the modernist was of course drawn to the interplay of light and shade; the tree's gnarls and wrinkles, roots and drooping branches, give the photograph its rich texture. Breadth predominates, but a shadow of wispy branches falls into the top edges, suggesting height. In the background, two fences converse: At right, the tall boards of the stockade bespeak strength—they are hewn thick and topped with edges sharp—while at left, the undulating pattern of a garden fence speaks softly of pastoral dreams and boasts of its barn, behind. The eucalyptus's trunk, twisted, gives testimony to the offshore whispers of the sea breeze coming up from the cove.

The image thus has all the line play and technical mastery that one expects of an Ansel Adams photograph. Formally divided into thirds, the image presents the eucalyptus as magician, turning the large fence into the small behind its bulk. (In actuality, the stockade reaches a corner here, and continues in a line behind the trunk.) Taken in black and white, there is a timelessness to the photograph, suggesting the scene of 1809, when the Russian fur traders, the *promyshleniki*, arrived to this coast, to its redwood forest. It suggests 1873, the year an American farmer and his Chilean wife moved onto the property. And it brings to mind Adams's own history, and the photographs of fences, trees, and roots that filled his first show in the East, at "An American Place," Alfred Stieglitz's gallery in 1936. Then, Adams presented images of his native California, urban

Sixty-seven years old and famous enough, Ansel Adams had stopped taking photographs regularly by 1969. Yet this Polaroid, a tourist image of a state park, holds within it the puzzle of place that is California: a visual history of Australian trees, a Russian fort, and a once-Spanish territory. Hinting at the gold rush and the redwoods, this image combines Adams's admiration of the birth of nature photography with his growing environmental consciousness.

Ansel Adams, Eucalyptus Tree, Fort Ross, California. Polaroid print, 1969. Courtesy of Ansel Adams Publishing Rights Trust.



and unpeopled, taken less than an hour's drive from Fort Ross.[2] In 1936, Adams's wilderness work was still mostly in the future; by 1969, such a scene had other overtones.

Beyond beautiful aesthetics, the meanings in landscape photographs have been hard to fathom. Art historian Martin Berger has begun to take a critical view of the "white sight" of American landscape photographers, arguing that the early American landscape portraitists—he explicitly mentions Carleton Watkins, who will return in this study—used their prints to privilege a white, masculine view of wilderness. Berger argues that

Adams the modernist was of course drawn to the interplay of light and shade; the tree's gnarls and wrinkles, roots and drooping branches, give the photograph its rich texture.

these photographs solidified the Eastern view of Western vistas, linking these spaces to a frontier narrative, leaving all to be interpreted in line with national priorities.[3] In this light, a radical way to read this photograph—its blocked views, the fence of a military garrison—is to think about the events of 1969 and imagine in this photograph the subtle protest of an "admittedly conservative liberal," as art historian Sally Stein has described Adams. In the midst of fighting in Vietnam, the Summer of Love, and the growth of American wilderness tourism, Adams may have been reacting not only to his own developing legacy but the charged politics of the moment. A brooding resignation, which flickers through this image, may suggest a failure to express an alternative—a feeling that may add to the image's success.[4]

Such a political reading may be seductive, even stylish, and the setting of a Russian fort at the height of the Cold War is suggestive. Adams himself described the Met exhibition as occurring amidst "grave problems—Vietnam, racism, Nixon, drugs, and so forth," though the "gentle crusader" (another critic's moniker) found the audience incredulous when he proposed facing these challenges by "[being] concerned about photography as well as about the human condition."[5] Adams's photographs were thus more global than specific, but there remains a politics and even more so a history to these images.

This essay considers its puzzle of place.[6] The photograph *Eucalyptus Tree, Fort Ross, California* provides a visual history of the connections between Australian trees, a Russian fort, and once-Spanish territory. Though Adams never spoke publicly about this photograph, I argue that *Eucalyptus Tree, Fort Ross* is a particularly good image to unravel Ansel Adams's environmental consciousness as well as Adams's unique embrace of the history and imagery of his native state, California.

Eucalyptus Tree, Fort Ross, California shows a trio of immigrants, the first of whom has left. The fence at right is the original stockade of Fort Ross, its redwood planks lumbered from the coastal hills in the furthest background. Ask a Californian fourth-grader about this northern Californian noteworthy, and you will hear, "While Junipero Serra and the Spanish were setting up missions in California, the Russians landed north of San Francisco, and set up Fort Ross. Ross comes from *rus*, or 'Russian,' and they were after 'furs.'" The "furs" were sea otter pelts, but otherwise the geopolitics of the situation are right: The Pomo people of this region faced Russian rather than Spanish conquest, with an outpost constructed in 1812 to warn off the friars. Like many California histories, the Pomo thus met the Western narrative from the east, not overland. As anthropologist James Clifford has written, "the fact of Fort Ross helps dislodge a dominant 'American' history, making room for other stories, other discoveries and origins." The Russians—east of their home ports, and south of their established forts in Alaska—saw Fort Ross as west of nothing in particular.[7]

Carleton Watkins' mammoth-plate prints (more than fifteen by twenty inches) attempt to grapple with the enormity of a giant redwood: a tree more than two hundred feet tall, thirty-one feet across, and more than 2,500 years old. The men Watkins placed at its base, to give a sense of scale, hardly appear. Watkins' photographs of Mariposa Grove advertise the presence of something altogether new in the visual landscape of the United States. What better place to test the power of the camera, to show this tall tale to be true?

Carleton E. Watkins, Grizzly Giant, Mariposa Grove, 33 Feet Diameter, albumen silver print, 1861. Courtesy of Botany Library, Harvard University.

After a few seasons of overhunting, the Russian soldier-traders and their eighty captive Aleut otter hunters found the search for pelts off northern California to be a bust. Having notched their progress in the local wood, the Russians turned Fort Ross into a lumber depot and farm, supplying all of Russian America. As the effects of overhunting spread north, however, the Russians lost interest in the area generally; the former Spanish rivals in the region, now independent Mexicans, were courted as purchasers for the fort. Mariano Vallejo, *comandante-general* of the Mexican state of Alta California, placed a bid, but it was rejected when he could not find the necessary funds. The buildings and the stockade went instead to a Swiss immigrant, one John Sutter. Sutter's mill on the Sacramento would be world famous within the decade.[8]

Sutter is thus a convenient bridge from Californian to American history. With word of GOLD!, the forty-niners came into the rapidly transformed territory, entering San Francisco Bay under the watch of American soldiers stationed at the formerly Spanish *presidio*, or fort, on the bluff. The miners swarmed the landscape. Their goal was to get into the hills and stake a claim. New rivers, new mountain ranges, new marvels appeared in American eyes. Miners desperate for wood to fire their engines found a different sort of mother lode when, in 1852, they came upon the first of the giant trees, taller and wider than any European men had seen.[9]

The broad eucalyptus tree speaks of massiveness —its bulk is exaggerated by Adams's cropping. Adams has deliberately made this large, twisted tree the center of attention. This, too, evokes history, for the iconic photographs of early California are full of great trees. But the low height of the first branches reveals this tree to be an immigrant. Its dominance of the frame, however, does suggest the Grizzly Giant, the treasure of the Mariposa Grove, the first, the most remarkable of those tall trees, the giant redwoods, to which Carleton Watkins brought his camera a century before.[10]

With gold found just after the Mexican cession was completed, the newly American San Francisco flourished. Between the mining-supply stores and the demimonde of drink and women, art and culture developed. Miners soon opened an opera house, founded library associations, and held exhibitions, where that newest of marvels, the photographs of the wet-plate camera, attracted attention and garnered some of the newfound wealth. Panoramas of the miners' adopted city could be viewed and purchased: images of ships rotting in the bay reminded them of where they had come from, and images of the gold fields kept the promise of a fortune on their mind. One historian boasts that, in the decade before the Civil War, San Francisco was the most photographed city in the world.[11]

Carleton Watkins was one of those photographers. Born in Oneonta, New York, in 1829, he had come to San Francisco in the third year of the gold rush and set to work documenting its impact on the city streets and the mountain streams of northern California. Following the news of the giant trees, Watkins accompanied survey men into the Sierras. There were roaring waterfalls and craggy heights in Yosemite Valley, and inexplicably, right alongside, there were giant trees. The men wondered aloud. It was as if something primeval had lingered here, and made things larger, more monumental. They could hardly believe their eyes—so what better place to test the power of the camera, to document the unbelievable, to show this tall tale to be true?[12]

Part of the Trunk of the "Grizzly Giant" w/ Clark, Mariposa Grove, 33 Feet Diameter, and its companion, *Grizzly Giant*, are among the most famous of these early Watkins photographs. Taken in 1861, the 15-¼" x 20-¼" print attempts to grapple with the enormity of the tree: over two hundred feet tall, more than thirty-one feet across, more than 2,500 years old. Unlike Adams's immigrant eucalyptus, here the first branch appears ninety-five feet above the ground, and it measures six feet in diameter. In *Grizzly Giant*, the full-scale portrait, Watkins stands far enough back to take in the entire tree, the thick trunk and tree-sized

However improbable the result, this photograph is an attempt to take the giant redwood on human terms. Galen Clark, guardian of Yosemite who named the Mariposa Grove, almost disappears between the folds of the tree's base. Such inversions of normal scale might have inspired Lewis Carroll, who that year told Alice of a quite similar wonderland. The photograph's similar massing and partition of the frame suggest that Adams may have used it as a model.

Carleton E. Watkins, Part of the Trunk of the "Grizzly Giant" w/ Clark, Mariposa Grove, 33 Feet Diameter, albumen silver print, 1861. Courtesy of the California Historical Society.

branches advertising the presence of something altogether new in the visual landscape of the United States. The men Watkins placed at its base, to give a sense of scale, hardly appear.[13]

Part of the Trunk is, however improbable the result, an attempt to take the giant redwood on human terms. The tree's roots fill the bottom third of the frame, and the tree's bulk takes out the middle swath. A stand of younger redwood and pine screen the background, making this image, despite its horizontal orientation, more about implied height than depth. The sunlight is dappled, and the bark's texture stands in focus, grabbing the viewer's attention. The subject of the photograph could have been "Clark" himself: Galen Clark, a Yankee settler turned guardian of Yosemite who discovered and named the Mariposa Grove and guided the efforts of Watkins, John Muir, and others, to publicize and preserve the trees from his waystation among them. Yet, posed with rifle and traveling pouch, reduced to "Clark," Galen almost disappears between the folds of the tree's base. This is a giant portrait—for giant trees. The impact, to recover an overused word, was monumental. Such inversions of scale, half a world away, might have inspired Lewis Carroll, who that year had begun to tell stories to his beloved Alice, to make her tower over the landscape or disappear down into trees.[14]

Carleton Watkins accompanied survey men into the Sierras. There were roaring waterfalls and craggy heights in Yosemite Valley, and inexplicably, right alongside, there were giant trees. The men wondered aloud. It was as if some-thing primeval had lingered here, and made things larger, more monumental.

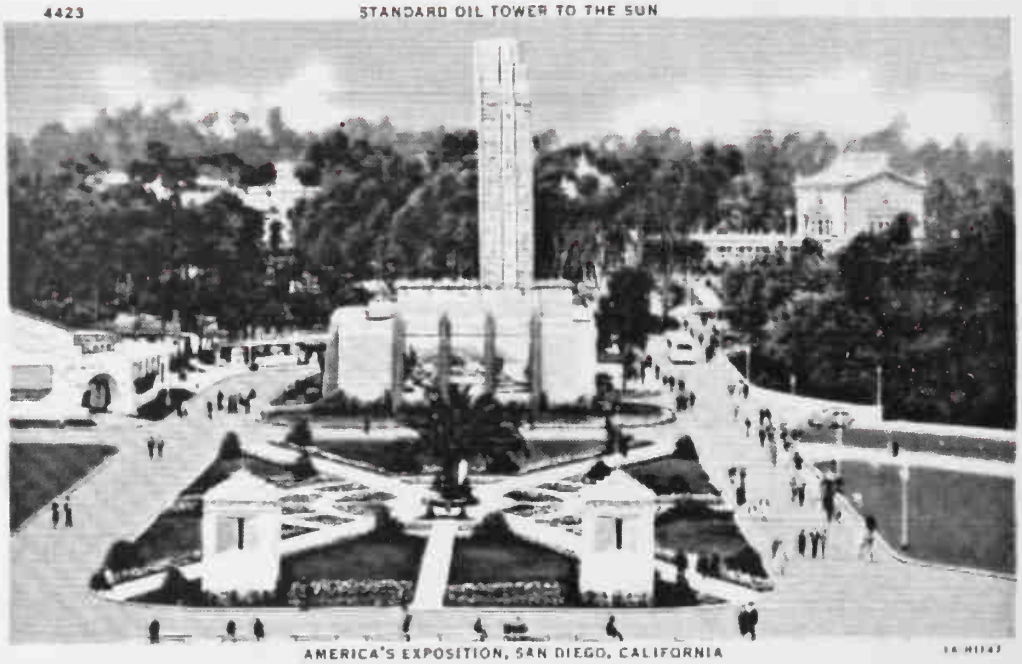
Though other San Francisco photographers also went east into the hills to capture the giant redwoods, Watkins was notable not only for his artistry, but also for his access to the East. As early as December 1862, Watkins' images were on display at Goupil's Gallery in New York, where two young artists, Albert Bierstadt and FitzHugh Ludlow, saw them. Bierstadt and Ludlow immediately decided to extend their planned trip across America further west to reach these strange lands. Similarly, Watkins is a clear influence on Adams's work. He is like a long-lost friend, as Adams had assured the reintroduction of Watkins and his San Francisco contemporaries to art history through a 1940 Palace of Fine Arts exhibit. Though in his career Watkins went on to document the changed landscape of the West—photographing hillsides liquefied by hydraulic mining, and doing contract work for agricultural boosters in the California Southland—it is these early "first views" that seem to hold sway in Adams's mind.

In these early photographs, California was the wonderland. *Eucalyptus Tree, Fort Ross* feeds on the monumentality of the first views: Adams also shows a "part of the trunk," with its roots emphasized on a similarly shallow foreground. The screen of trees in Watkins' photograph is mirrored by the wooden fences in Adams's, and the figure of Clark by the human structure, the barn. The places they depict lay a day's drive apart in the northern California wilderness. The redwood fort and the giant redwood mark out California's history. Yet the homegrown redwoods have been replaced by the immigrant eucalyptus.

With the decimation of the local Native American populations and the boom of the gold rush, California became a state of newcomers. Ansel Adams's grandfather came to seek his fortune—and so, in a different way, did the eucalyptus. The immigrant eucalyptus arrived with the others, from the east, to San Francisco, in the mad rush for gold in the 1850s. Like the Russian quest for furs, the tree's connection to European exploration in the Pacific began a century before. Captain James Cook had landed in the trees' native Australia in

In 1873, George Washington Call and family bought Fort Ross. They took pains to care for the redwood structures, turning the Rotchev House into the Fort Ross Hotel and promoting the fort as a tourist destination. One morning in 1886, Frank B. Rodolph led a party of tourists up from Oakland, recording some of the early photographs of the fort before the eucalypts were planted. Rodolph, a stationer and commercial photographer, traveled through California with a Bay Area group who called themselves "the Merry Tramps" (see California History, *82, 2) taking photographs of their recreation and leisure activities. With men peeking out from the cupola and women in proper Victorian dress lounging at the doorway, Fort Ross was becoming a place to visit California history.*

Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.



The 1935-36 California Pacific International Exposition was a Depression-era chance to promote San Diego and the marvels of touring by automobile. Amidst fanciful Spanish colonial architecture were the newly mature eucalypts, which had come to be seen as distinctively Californian. The juxtapositions continued as Ansel Adams brought snow to the sunshine: Commissioned by the Yosemite Park & Curry Co., Adams had installed a photomural of Half Dome, Orchard, Winter, Yosemite National Park *inside the Standard Oil Company's Tower to the Sun pavilion.*

Standard Oil Company's Tower to the Sun pavilion, postcard, [1935]. Courtesy of San Diego Historical Society.

1778, and by 1789 the curious specimens he sent back to Europe had received their Greek name from the French. A boutique plant, an ornament, a curiosity—at least until the acclimatizers took an interest, in the mid-nineteenth century.[16]

In an early sort of conservation, a generation of botanists and tree enthusiasts sought to reforest areas that had been logged, and bring the serene, Romantic bounty of forests to "barren" areas. The watchword was acclimatization, bringing species from similar climates and aggressively introducing them in order to change the landscape—permanently. The eucalyptus, with its more than three hundred varieties, was the paragon in this tale of biological immigration. By 1870 eucalypts could be found rimming the Mediterranean and shading the U.S. Gulf Coast. California received a double dose of the eucalyptus mania, as acclimatizers saw the scrubby chaparral of southern California as the place to create an Australian wilderness, while in northern California, tall, supposedly sturdy varieties were chosen, with a keen eye to replace logged redwoods as a source of timber. George Perkins Marsh, the mentor of the movement, wrote in the revised edition of *Man and Nature* that "if we may credit late reports, the growth of the eucalyptus is so rapid in California, that the child is perhaps now born who will see the tallest sequoia overlapped by the new vegetable emigrant from Australia." As it turns

out, that never happened. From confusion over seeds to misunderstanding about what eucalypts could and could not be to Californians, the rise and fall of acclimatizers and their successors, hawking the tree as panacea, is a rich tale. Yet, in this photograph, it was a success; Adams has substituted the blue gum for Watkins' giant redwood.[17]

As to this eucalyptus—the specifics of this tree, in this place—the best evidence points to it being planted at the height of the California eucalyptus craze at the very end of the nineteenth century. The tree is actually part of a series of eucalypts, planted along the road from the fort up to the ranch house. On the day the seed was planted, it may have been Australia returning a favor. Luther Burbank, the southern Californian hybridist, visited the fort in 1900, vacationing from his work developing a spineless cactus for the Australian outback. Burbank stayed in the hotel maintained on the property by Ohio-born entrepreneur George Washington Call and his Chilean-born wife, Mercedes Leiva, and their 14 children.[18]

The story of Call and his wife marks another migration, another change in the land of Fort Ross. Out to seek his fortune in a boat in the Pacific, Call represented the generation of miners after 1849 who tracked mineral rushes across the globe and, like the urban pioneers before him, was one who traded mining for other gambles—in his case, ranching. In 1873, Call bought Fort Ross from men who had used the property for timber, and set out to ranch and raise crops. Call was the first American to care for the redwood structures of Fort Ross, even living in the Rotchev House, the Russian commanding officer's quarters, while building his own home just to the north. (It is Call's barn visible in the back of Adams's photograph.) When the ranch house was complete, Call leased out the Rotchev as the Fort Ross Hotel, and played host to Burbank.[19]

Burbank's visit fit within Call's plan of making Fort Ross into a tourist destination, where the combination of a colonial history and a spectacular coastline would convince Victorian visitors to put his privately owned history park on the map. Perhaps it was as part of that effort, to beautify lands over-timbered and over-grazed, that Call planted those eucalyptus trees, with or without the advice of his noted guest. Either way, he succeeded in adding to the property's prestige: by the twenty-first century, a eucalyptus down the road from the one Adams photographed was the largest on the West Coast. It was not just Call planting these trees to attract settlers to an Edenic, forested paradise. These immigrants—Australian trees and newcomers from the East Coast—fed the image of California as a vacation land, a place to visit, to stay, to retire.[20]

Tourist appeal links the redwoods, the world's tallest and largest trees, to this eucalyptus at Fort Ross. Seeing Watkins' photographs, tourists flocked to the groves of the giant redwoods. Call had the ambition to do the same for Fort Ross. One morning in 1886, Frank B. Rodolph led a party of tourists up from Oakland, recording some of the early photographs of the fort, before the eucalypts. When Call's family found tourist promotion too much to handle, they sold the fort to the California Historical Landmarks Committee, who did so instead. In 1906 Fort Ross became a state park—a state-promoted tourist spot. Because Call courted tourism, Fort Ross is important in the California stories we chóse to tell. Were it not for tourism, it is unlikely that Ansel Adams would have photographed this eucalyptus. Promoted from among the millions of such trees, it has been similarly chosen by other visitors, even featured on a website travelogue. Even with Ansel Adams behind the Polaroid camera, the photograph is still a snapshot, a hollowed-out tourist image where one visitor records the presence of another.[21]

But that hardly seems fair, to the beauty of the image or the close identification of eucalypts with California. By the time of Ansel Adams's childhood in San Francisco, the eucalyptus trees populated the landscape, especially marking journeys to the southern half of the state. In that arid region—where stretches of inland desert meet canyons of chaparral—stubby trees, drab grasses,

and waxy bushes naturally dominate, all bent on enduring the high heat, low humidity, and scarcity of rainfall. A difficult environment for trees, perhaps, but a pleasure land for humans. With constant sunny days and mild temperatures year-round, the southern California coast became the nation's dream destination at the turn of the

"Nine-tenths of the men and women painting here on the West Coast . . . all see a desert, a sunset, a mountain or the sea with exactly the same eyes and the same minds. They are simply unintentionally making illustrations rather than creative art. I call it the 'eucalyptus school' of painting." Merle Armitage, 1928

century, even before it attracted the moving-picture industry to its varied landscaping and perfect shooting weather.

Even beyond eucalyptus, southern California was an acclimatizers' paradise. After the success of planting Australian navel oranges in the 1880s, new communities from Pasadena in the hills to Venice at the beach were planned and prospected —and each plot was sold with Australian seedlings, eucalyptus and acacia. Farmers planted eucalypts as windbreaks and up untillable canyons, hoping to prevent erosion losses. From the Berkeley Hills and San Francisco's Presidio to the groves of Irvine and the canyons of San Diego, the eucalyptus became a defining feature of California south of the redwoods. By 1935, the tree had gained an air of permanence. One authority declared, "The eucalyptus is now one of the outstanding trees over almost any California landscape where trees have been planted. Many people fail to realize that the tree is not a native."[22]

Eucalyptus trees were enshrined in the state's heritage that year, in the massive festivities of the 1935-1936 California Pacific International Exposition in San Diego's Balboa Park. The largest urban park in the country after New York's Central Park, its fanciful Spanish colonial architecture had been built as setting for the Panama-California International Exposition of 1915, celebrating the opening of the Panama Canal and inviting the world to see how San Diego was an up-and-coming city with a spectacular natural harbor. By 1935, the Great Depression had dampened such enthusiasm, but San Diego followed Chicago and San Francisco in trying to coax good times from the repeat performance of a successful exhibition. The Mission Revival architecture of the original fair had become iconic; the eucalyptus trees planted in 1915 had matured. The trees had come to be seen "as something distinctively Californian," with "cultural heritage already established," according to their chronicler, Ian Tyrrell. Their dappled bark and drooping branches combined with the stuccoed walls and red-tile roofs to create a seductively iconic— if completely constructed—southern California scene.[23]

Among the eucalypts in the San Diego sunshine, the thirty-three-year-old Ansel Adams had brought the Yosemite winter. In the Standard Oil Company's Tower to the Sun pavilion—walking from the Plaza del Pacifico past the Foreign Nations Hacienda, stop before the Firestone Singing Fountain and the Palace of Varied Industries —Ansel Adams had installed the photograph *Half Dome, Orchard, Winter, Yosemite National Park* in a photomural 3-1/3 feet tall and 5 feet wide. Adams had been commissioned by the Yosemite Park & Curry Co. to provide the gigantic enlargement, which sat among various photographs and dioramas of national parks and monuments in the Standard Oil exhibit. Fewer visitors could afford cars in the depths of the Depression, but the fair's sponsors nevertheless encouraged the touristic drives to national treasures. Just beyond the *Standard Oil* exhibit and the *Firestone* Singing Fountain stood the *Ford* Building (in the shape of the figure eight, for the V-8 engine), where fairgoers could test out the newest Ford automobiles on the "Roads of the Pacific," constructed

Hanson Puthuff's Brimming Cup of Summer *is unlike other* plein air *paintings—mostly local landscapes of feathery eucalypts and long ocean horizons, which critic Merle Armitage derided as "the usual output of pleasant calendars" and "the 'eucalyptus school' of painting." Puthuff's painting has an allegorical title, a shallow foreground, and the impact of the large, twisting trees against the shimmer of the lake. This is a quite different eucalyptus. The rough strokes and the interplay of light and dark suggest importance for the trees, much as Ansel Adams would do, forty years later, on film.*

Hanson Puthuff, *Brimming Cup of Summer*, oil on canvas, 24 x 30", c. 1928. Courtesy of Donna Fleicher

down into the canyon. The automobile owner could drive from the eucalyptus coast of southern California, out to Fort Ross, past the giant redwoods, and up to the wonders of Yosemite Valley.[24]

Somewhere at the San Diego fair, amidst the eucalyptus, along with the Adams photograph, were paintings that Los Angeles art critic Merle Armitage despised. "Nine-tenths of the men and women painting here on the West Coast are grinding out the usual output of pleasant calendars," Armitage had written in 1928, with "pleasant" and "calendars" intended as insults. "They all see a desert, a sunset, a mountain or the sea with exactly the same eyes and the same minds. They are simply unintentionally making illustrations rather than creative art." With derision, he provided a moniker: "I call it the 'eucalyptus school' of painting."[25]

The group of *plein air* painters who Armitage disparaged are better know today as the California Impressionists, who translated the fervor for quick brushstrokes in France into an American style of landscape painting, fashioned in the open air and bent on capturing the play of light over the trees, sea, and sky of American wonderlands. Easterners settled in artist colonies at Pasadena, Laguna Beach, and San Diego from the 1890s onward; their local landscapes emptied of humans, animals, or architecture emerged from a Regionalist desire to find in the native landscape the subjects and moods for American art. The irony, of course, is that this was not much of a native landscape. The eucalypts that dominate these paintings are hardly more rooted in the land than the itinerant eastern-born painters come to capture them as typical.[26]

By the time of the 1935 San Diego fair, the *plein air* painters were on the decline. "The combined forces of modernism, urban growth, and the California Impressionists' own repetitious output" eroded the status of their art, according to art historian Will South. But these painters had provided a dramatic reorientation of art in California. By consciously avoiding the Big Trees, Yosemite, Mt. Tamalpais, and other northern California icons in favor of their local landscapes, these artists, such as Edgar Payne and Marion Kavanagh Wachtel, asserted a new view. Some contemporaries went as far as to say this switch represented an opposition to tourism, and a call to environmental awareness. *Los Angeles Times* writer Fred Hogue wrote in 1926 that "landscapists and genre painters are writing the contemporary history of the first half of the twentieth century in Southern California," for "the groves they paint will disappear." Hogue, however, was fooled into thinking that these painters depicted "the primitive beauty" of areas long since transformed by eucalypts.[27] Adams's choice of a eucalyptus along the northern California coast suggests a melding of this southern California musing on tourism and the environment with the earlier history of photographing Big Trees north of San Francisco. Less like the feathery trees Armitage derided as far too common, Adams's eucalyptus takes after the large, twisting eucalypts dominating the foreground of Hanson Puthuff's *Brimming Cup of Summer*, completed in the late 1920s. The trees are cropped just where the leaves begin, and the dark palette accentuates the size and mass of the eucalyptus trunk. The foreground is shallow and roughly painted, and the background, a lake scene, fades to lighter colors, with the impact of the light on the eucalyptus trunks the most striking feature of the painting. Whether or not there is a direct link, as Adams walked down the gravel path and into grassy meadow between Fort Ross and the ocean, waiting for the perfect light, Adams selected a vista reminiscent of the California Impressionists' masterpieces. His noble grouping serves as a portrait of place, representative of the varied landscapes and histories of California.[28]

By 1969, sixty-seven years old and famous enough, Adams had stopped taking photographs regularly. Yet Adams was not retired from public view. Every year he was more aggressive in advocating for wilderness spaces, aware of the changing times around him, if not always comfortable with them.. *Eucalyptus Tree, Fort Ross, California* is an image all of wood, yet every inch shows the im-

pact of man. So there is a politics here—less of counterculture and the Cold War than an environmental consciousness of Ansel Adams and others who came to see the eucalyptus as a villain.[29]

To approach the present is to follow the eucalyptus to its acrid, explosive end. Some had seen the tree's fall early on; in 1877, amidst the clamoring against the Chinese, one San Francisco paper took on another foe, this "craze all over the state about the eucalyptus." Aping promoters' claims, the *Argonaut* declared that "in moderate quantities (say a forest a day) it will restore the hair to a castiron dog and reason to a partisan." Are you a Californian on the make? "Two or three trees planted along the boundary-line of a ranch will gradually annex the ranch adjoining, poisoning its owner and driving away the widow." Hope that tree nearby will prevent malaria? "In Australia, where this tree grows wild, the country is so healthy that the people have to go to New Zealand to commit suicide." The *Argonaut* noted gleefully, "such are a choice of the many virtues this abominable tree is ignorantly asserted to possess." Letting us in on the secret, the *Argonaut* announced, "of course it is utterly useless." The editors described how "its odor is so immatchably unpleasant that nothing but man can endure it. In point of beauty it is about as desirable as the scaffolding of a factory chimney." And yet, almost in desperation, the *Argonaut* observed that "this absurd vegetable is now growing all over this State. One cannot get out of its sight."[30]

One hundred and twenty-five years later, acclimatization is pseudoscience and the *Argonaut* is being vindicated. An article in a recent issue of *Audubon Magazine* listed what is now scientific certainty about "America's Largest Weed": the eucalypts didn't cure disease; they make lousy lumber; they steal water from local species; they drive away endangered native birds; they create mountains of leaves and bark; their gummy sap causes birds to suffocate. Eucalyptus trees topple over. Botanists have labeled the unique mix of problems associated with the trees "eucalyptus desolation."[31]

Some evils of the eucalyptus have come to pass more recently. Firefighters nickname eucalypts "gasoline trees," as their highly flammable oils, abundant litter, and hanging bark strips quickly string the fire from tree to tree and from brush to crown. This is by design. The eucalypts—like the redwoods—have evolved to use fire to reproduce, with each fire-exploding pod sending seeds in all directions. Quaint, clever, and deadly: in

From when they marveled at redwoods to when they acclimatized eucalyptus to when they cut down the Australian firebombs someone had planted behind their homes, Californians have always been anxious to find an environment they can live with.

1991, proud old eucalypts fueled the Oakland Hills fire, which killed twenty-five people, destroyed three thousand buildings, and has gone down as the most destructive "wild" fire in U.S. history. The ironies almost are too cruel, for many of the best Eucalyptus School paintings were in the Oakland Hills homes of University of California professors, and were incinerated by those trees they so harmlessly depicted.[32]

The area of northern California from Fort Ross in the north to Santa Cruz in the south—a ring about 125 miles wide around San Francisco—has become the epicenter of the fight to remove the eucalyptus trees. The eucalypts at Fort Ross, given their bulk, have found their way into the record book and out of controversy, but in San Francisco, the eucalypts at the fort are under attack. Not stooping to call it "an absurd vegetable," the *New York Times* chronicled the efforts to remove a few thousand eucalypts and Monterey cypress. Government scientists are busy removing the trees on federal property in and around San Francisco—not only at the Presidio but also on Angel Island, in the middle of the bay, in an effort to revive native species.[33]

And it seems more than the Eucalyptus School aficionados are upset. Almost every effort to remove the trees has met with vocal resistance. In Marin County, advocates have been called "plant Nazis," planning a vegetal "ethnic cleansing." At county meetings and in court, eucalyptus cough drops have been distributed and eucalyptus branches waved. In statement after statement, individuals link the heritage of the immigrant eucalyptus to their own: "Plants and trees without proper papers to show their pre-Mayflower lineage are called 'invasive exotics' and are wrenched from the soil to die," wrote Leland Yee, an ethnic Chinese member of the California State Assembly (who, evidently, was named for the railroad boss Leland Stanford). "How many of us," Yee asks, "are 'invasive exotics' who have taken root in the San Francisco soil, have thrived and flourished?" Universalizing the point, a supporter in Marin testified that "humans aren't native either."[34]

This foray into the fate of the eucalyptus tree in California may seem far afield from the consideration of a photograph. But Ansel Adams understood the connection. He was long active in debates about the direction of the Sierra Club, and long lent his name to the drive to create Redwoods National Park. And trying to discourage eucalyptus plantings in Marin County in the 1970s, Adams declared that "I cannot think of a more tasteless undertaking than to plant trees in a naturally treeless area, and to impose an interpretation of natural beauty on a great landscape that is charged with beauty and wonder, and the excellence of eternity."[35]

From when they marveled at redwoods to when they acclimatized eucalyptus to when they cut down the Australian firebombs someone had planted behind their homes, Californians have always been anxious to find an environment they can live with. It is no accident that two of the greatest accounts of Los Angeles describe its "ecology of fear" and its obsession with "the control of nature," or that environmental historian William Cronon's revolutionary essay on "getting back to the wrong nature" evolved as he sat at the University of California, Irvine, while the eucalyptus trees of the nearby Laguna Hills burned. Wars for the environment have centered on the Fort Ross region, amidst the remaining redwood trees on the California coast. Activists have taken up residence in trees, under *noms de guerre* like "Butterfly"—or, in Spanish, *mariposa*, the name Galen Clark gave to the Grizzly Giant's grove. The redwood groves had once been full of monarch butterflies. Some of the monarchs have become accustomed to eucalyptus trees instead, but the changes the gum trees have wrought on the landscape are blamed in threatening the bay checkerspot butterfly, and making the Xerces blue butterfly extinct. The place of California is deeply entwined with the fate of its natural elements—even while those natural places have a mark of human hands.[36]

Cronon's point on getting back to the wrong nature is that we believe Ansel Adams at Yosemite and forget him at Fort Ross. "'Nature' is not as natural as it seems," Cronon writes, and parks—Yosemite and its redwood groves as much as Fort Ross and its eucalyptus—are not outside of history. "Far from being the one place on earth that stands apart from humanity," Cronon asserts, "[wilderness] is quite profoundly a human creation—indeed, the creation of very particular human cultures at very particular moments in human history." From the time of Carleton Watkins' later photographs, showing washed-out hillsides and about-to-be-destroyed valleys, the link between development and destruction has made for poignant art. These alterations have even affected national parks, as art historian Mary Sayre Haverstock has found, for the National Park Service has preserved "classic" vistas by cutting down disobedient vegetation.[37]

With the work of Ansel Adams, we tend to assume we are seeing the beauty of nature untouched. But just like the portraits and the buildings that Adams brought back into the Met exhibition in 1974, this photograph evokes other forgotten

characteristics: the intentioned aesthetic considerations, the extensive technical work, and the sheer physical requirements upon humans to create these images. We cannot begin to understand *Half Dome, Orchard, Winter, Yosemite National Park* and the dozens of "wilderness" images like it without considering the man behind the camera—where he is standing, how he got there, what he is wearing. *Eucalyptus Tree, Fort Ross, California* is still beautiful even as it jars the human presence back into the frame.

The images taken by Watkins, the paintings of the Eucalyptus School, and the most famous Adams photographs have shaped the visual vocabulary by which we see and do not see things in the California landscape. Lawrence Buell has argued for a canon of environmentally sensitive works in American literature; students of place should be equally sensitive to how human impact constructs images of nature in painting, sculpture, and photography.[38] An accretion of images, of emotions, questions of people and a location, their hopes, their dreams, their fears form the puzzle of place; in California —vast, sprawling, variegated—it is complex indeed. Yet through the environmental consciousness of Ansel Adams, one can evoke the place of photography and the history of nature in this photograph, *Eucalyptus Tree, Fort Ross, California*.

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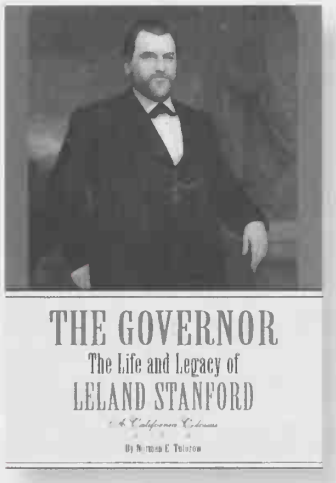
ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT MEN IN THE HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA AND THE WEST



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MARMORATA:

The Famed Mud Turtle of the San Francisco Market

BY MATTHEW BETTELHEIM

Palace Hotel, San Francisco, Christmas Dinner, 1904

"Mock Turtle, Premartin 30¢"
"Clear Green Turtle, Granday 50¢"
"Terrapin Maryland $2.50"

The western pond turtle, or terrapin as it was once known, was historically a prominent item in the markets of California at the turn of the twentieth century. And although several scientific and historical journal articles, as well as some popular literature, recount briefly the collection of terrapins for sale in the San Francisco market as an ingredient for soup, little beyond this recycled anecdotal information has been documented or expanded upon in detail.[1] Records, although rare, obscure, or cursory, do exist, however. In many respects, the absence of published data represents a significant hole in the regional historical record surrounding not only the fisheries, but also of California. Moreover, these data gaps also highlight our lack of understanding about the current status of a turtle species now facing considerable threats to its existence. Although the western pond turtle could be considered a candidate for listing as an Endangered or Threatened species, state and federal agencies have denied attempts to recognize this status. In urban areas of California, people are far more likely to see introduced, non-native species like the red-eared slider, which are effectively out-competing the state's native turtle. Biologists throughout the western pond turtle's range recognize that the species is declining, and that certain populations are considered threatened or endangered nonetheless. By digesting what little information remains on the extent and impacts the historical terrapin fisheries exacted on western pond turtle populations over the course of one hundred years, we may be able to gain a more accurate knowledge of the severity of their decline in numbers.

The terrapin of the San Francisco market has been known by many common names, amongst them the Pacific mud turtle, Pacific pond turtle, Pacific terrapin, California mud turtle, California terrapin, California pond turtle, pond tortoise, western terrapin snapper, or any other conceivable combination. Today, the terrapin in question is more commonly known as the western pond turtle (*Clemmys marmorata*), the only fresh-water turtle native to the North American Pacific Coast west of the Sierra-Cascade divide.[2]

The species name *marmorata* refers to the turtle's marbled shell and skin. Throughout the extent of their range, colors and markings can vary, depending on the growth, age, location, and sex of the turtle. With age the young darken in coloration and eventually lose their marbled markings. As such, the western pond turtles most people are familiar with are the drab-colored, often mud-caked, turtles observed on occasion in park ponds sunning on partially submerged logs.

Two subspecies of western pond turtle have been described: the northwestern pond turtle (*C. m. marmorata*) found throughout California north

of the San Francisco Bay and portions of Oregon and Washington, and the southwestern pond turtle (*C. m. pallida*) found in the Mojave River and along the coast west of the San Joaquin Valley from the San Francisco Bay Area to below the Mexican border in northern Baja California. A zone of intergradation occurs between the two subspecies in the San Joaquin Valley and throughout the San Francisco Bay Area wherein turtles exhibiting varying degrees of characteristics of both subspecies occur.[3]

The biologist L. M. Seeliger was the first to split the western pond turtle into subspecies and quantify their differences, noting in 1945 that the north-ranging *C. m. marmorata* more often exhibited a pair of triangular plates where the plastron (lower shell) and carapace (upper shell) met mid-shell, and a sharp contrast in color between the side and underside of the neck. Conversely, the south-ranging *C. m. pallida* had noticeably smaller triangular scales or was missing them altogether, and the coloration of the neck was lighter and more uniform.[4]

Although these subspecies were as-yet unrecognized in the late 1800s and early 1900s, those whose livelihood depended on terrapins reported differences between specimens collected throughout the state. As early as 1879, one naturalist noted:

> The dealers say that those from Visalia and from the San Joaquin are far superior to those from Sacramento. In the latter the under side is almost white, while in the former it is dark, approaching black; the latter will often die by the dozen soon after they are brought in for sale, while the former will keep alive for months.[5]

Although the dealers' recognition of two variants was rudimentary, subsequent analyses have indeed identified genetic differences and variations in size and shape between the subspecies.[6]

As naturalists teased out and named this newly encountered species of the United States, corresponding at times only by mail, the pond turtle underwent a series of generic and specific names.

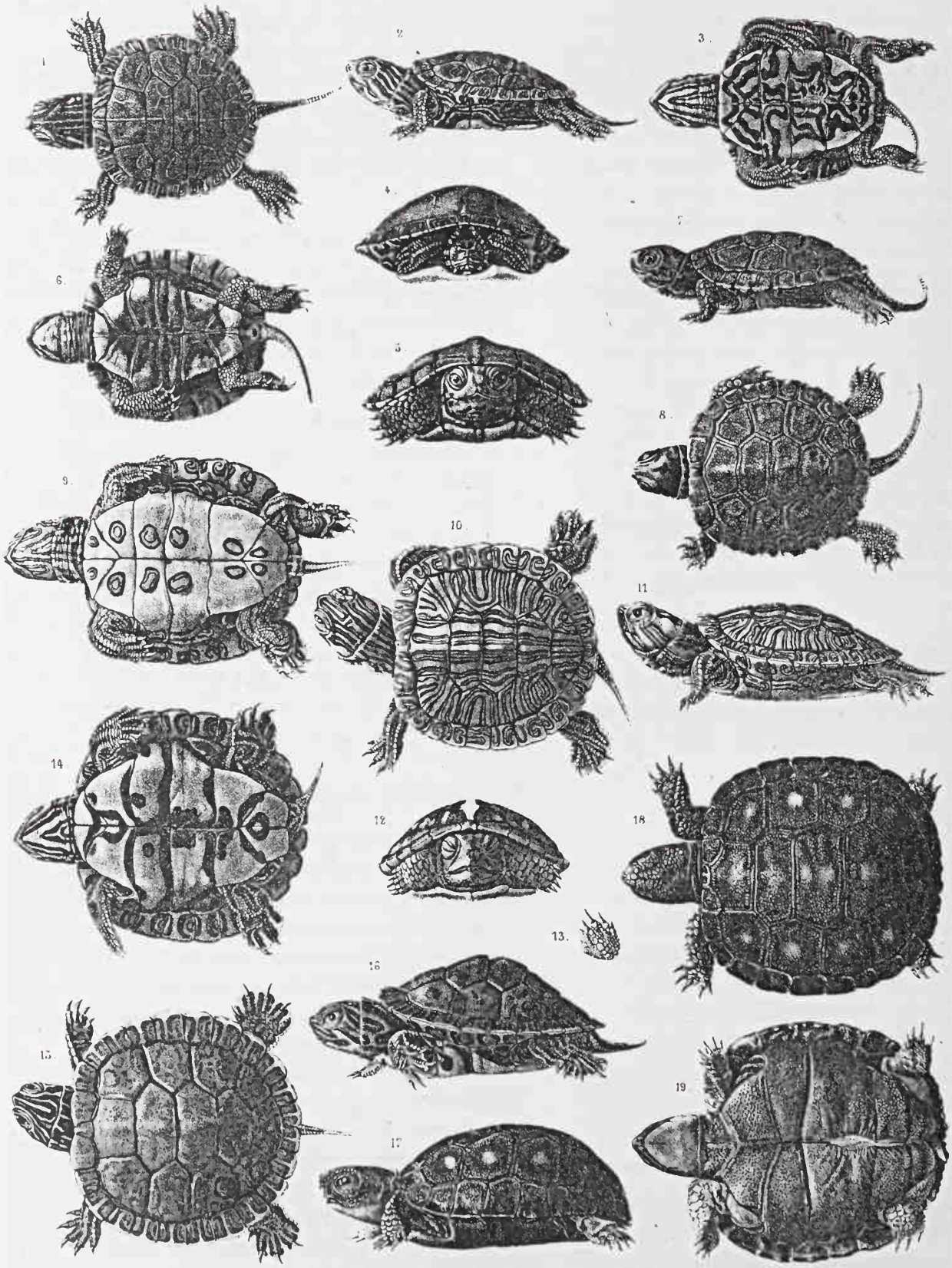
The western pond turtle as we know it today was first recorded by naturalists Spencer F. Baird and Charles F. Girard in 1852 as *Emys marmorata* from a specimen collected in Puget Sound,[7] after which naturalist Edward Hallowell described the species as *Emys nigra* in 1854 from a specimen collected at Posa Creek, Kern County.[8] In a letter to Baird, fellow naturalist Louis Agassiz wrote of the mess:

> I have found the reference to *Emys marmorata* and am glad it has priority over *nigra*, for that name would never do; *marmorata* is not exactly the thing either, but it is at least not so completely objectionable.[9]

Still, the confusion was not easily sorted out. In 1857 Louis Agassiz published his seminal *Contributions to the Natural History of the United States of America*, which included a review of the embryology of North American chelonians, in which he described the species as *Actinemys marmorata*.[10] Other descriptions were recorded at later dates under the names *Clemmys wosnessenskyi* (Strauch 1862),[11] *Geoclemys marmorata* (Gray 1870),[12] and *Chelopus marmoratus* (Cope 1875);[13] however, Strauch was in 1862 the first to describe the species as *Clemmys marmorata*.[14]

FROM RATTLES TO RATATOUILLE

Prior to 1863, to date the earliest documented occurrence of the commercial exploitation of the species, the western pond turtle appears sporadically as a subsistence item in the diet of the Native American groups of California. In the Tulare Lake area, although reportedly "the waters teemed with fish and turtles and beds of mussels,"[15] western pond turtles escaped mention in Thomas Jefferson Mayfield's post-1900 anthropological accounts of the Yokuts Indians, and were only mentioned off-hand in Frank Forrest Latta's writing, even though each of the men had considerable exposure to the Yokuts.[16] Tulare County historian Annie Mitchell (1906– 2000), who was raised in the area and who had personally interviewed the region's settlers, wrote:



> Sea birds, ducks, geese, pelicans, swans and wild pigeons lived around [Lake Tulare] in such numbers that many an old-timer lost his reputation for truthfulness when he was only recalling what he had seen. The lake was a fisherman's paradise for there were salmon, trout, perch and catfish. The shore was clogged with clams and mussels, and terrapin lined up like miniature sand dunes.[17]

Since 1989, 616 western pond turtle bone fragments have been recovered from the Creighton Ranch site at Tulare Lake, deposited in such a way as to suggest they were consumed regularly by the Southern San Joaquin Valley Yokuts throughout their occupation of the area.[18]

Both western pond turtle and desert tortoise (*Gopherus agassizii*) remains have been recovered from archaeological sites in the southwestern Great Basin/Mojave Desert. Some remains consisted of shell fragments that were burned or marked in such a way as to suggest they had undergone cooking in preparation for consumption. Other remains were drilled and bore traces of asphaltum, a tar-like oil collected for use as a caulking agent, which suggests to anthropologists that the shells might have been used as ceremonial rattles.[19]

In 1946, excavations in Concord unearthed an archeological burial site containing the remains of nine humans. Among the artifacts buried with them were turtle bones.[20] In San Jose, an "important prehistoric ancestral Ohlone village with over 124 human burials" yielded faunal remains, among them the fragments of western pond turtles.[21] Other coastal archeological sites in Ventura County, Long Beach, Santa Barbara County, and the Channel Islands have yielded western pond turtle remains as well.[22]

Whether the western pond turtle was a sustenance item or merely used ceremonially is unclear. According to some scholars, turtles—really, reptiles in general—were considered either unclean or poisonous among many of California's Indians. The Chukchansi and Salinan Indians were two exceptions; the former considered lizards, turtles, and rattlesnakes suitable food items, while the latter ate everything they could catch, save for skunk and perhaps the coyote/dog.[23]

To Americans settling the West, turtles had no such ill reputation and it is unlikely that, as a food item, turtle was anything novel. The green sea turtle's (*Chelonia mydas*) role in the commercial fisheries dates back to the seventeenth century. Green turtles were one of several turtles kept alive upside-down aboard naval, whaling, and pirate ships as a source of fresh meat.[24]

A December 21, 1915, *Los Angeles Times* article entitled "Turkey or Turtles?" celebrated the arrival of "Thirteen Green Sea Monsters," thirteen green sea turtles shipped live aboard the Southwestern Steamship Company's Mexican freighter, the *San Pedro*, in time for Christmas dinners.

Even today, despite its listing as a federally Threatened and Endangered species, the green sea turtle is considered by herpetologists to be "the most economically important reptile in the world" as both its flesh and eggs provide an important source of protein to third world nations.[25]

Louis Agassiz, the famed natural scientist, lamented the confusing number of scientific names given to the western pond turtle. Illustrations of hatchlings of this turtle are numbers 5 through 8 in Agassiz's 1857 Contributions to the Natural History of the United States of America. *Also illustrated is the red-eared slider (*Trachemys elegans*; numbers 9-11), the "dime-store turtle" common as a pet and as often abandoned by pet owners in habitats important to western pond turtles. Such pet turtles can introduce diseases or compete with western pond turtles for what little habitat remains.*

From Louis Agassiz, *Contributions to the Natural History of the United States of America*, first monograph, vol. I & II, part III, *Embryology of the Turtle*; with Thirty-four Plates (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1857) plate III.

Along the East Coast, the diamondback terrapin (*Malaclemys terrapin*), or saltwater terrapin, was heavily collected in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, selling for as much as sixty dollars per dozen,[26] to the point where the species could no longer support the intensity of commercial harvest. An October 1, 1905, *Los Angeles Times* article announcing the publication of a biography of the diamondback terrapin quoted natural history Professor William Perry Hay of Howard University as saying:

> Thanks to lax laws and ruthless hunters, the species is on the verge of extinction; and before long, unless proper measures are taken, must be numbered among the great host of animals man has exterminated.

On the West Coast, recognizing the market demand for turtles, the U.S. Fish Commission's 1884 report on "Terrapin and Terrapin-Fishing" as part of their reconnaissance of the Pacific Coast fisheries concluded that:

> The conditions seem excellent for the successful introduction of the diamondback terrapin to the west coast. The extensive salt marshes around San Francisco Bay and in other places would doubtless supply a suitable habitat for the animal, whose high food value would in time bring it into active demand and stimulate cultivation and a profitable trade.[27]

Within a year, Fish Commissioner Emeric had attempted just that. As rereported in an October 4, 1895, *Los Angeles Times* piece, the *Call* ran an account on how "it has long been Mr. Emeric's idea that the expensive amphibians [sic] could be made to flourish on this coast." Emeric apparently returned to California from a trip to the East Coast with five dozen small diamondback terrapins. These he kept in a "pen of laths in the marsh near San Pablo," and they were eventually "turned loose to populate the marshes."

In 1896, the U.S. Fish Commission "made three plants of Atlantic marine species in our waters," introducing 120 diamondback terrapins into the San Francisco Bay "brought from without the State." There is no evidence to suggest whether or not this introduction of diamondback terrapins was temporarily successful, specimens encountered in the Bay Area are thought to be a by-product of the pet trade.[28]

It appears turtles were a common menu fare in California during the late 1800s and early 1900s —and not just the western pond turtle. Although menus of the time regularly featured "terrapin" or "turtle," they offer no reliable reference to the specific species, making it difficult to track the abundance or popularity of one species over another, much less their market prices, without verifiable records.

For example, a 1904 Christmas dinner menu from San Francisco's Palace Hotel lists "Mock Turtle, Premartin 30 [cents]" and "Clear Green Turtle, Granday 50 [cents]" soup, as well as "Terrapin Maryland 2.50 [dollars]" as a fish. Which menu item, if any, might have been western pond turtle is anyone's guess.

Although diners no doubt knew with some certainty what they were eating—a man who had once tried western pond turtle meat "said it had an unpleasant odor"[29]—there are many unverifiable accounts of unscrupulous entrepreneurs who would regularly rent out the same live turtle to different restaurants on different days with the advertisement "Green turtle soup tomorrow."[30] Considering that turtle was a delicacy, odds are good anything but turtle went into the following day's soup. Although such practices were most likely uncommon, the very possibility of scams like this merely confounds the issue of properly identifying the actual species and their prevalence on menus.

What actually went into the soup stock and whether or not the diners knew what they dined upon, we certainly can't know today. But we can take a step back and track the trapping effort and the number of terrapins harvested with some

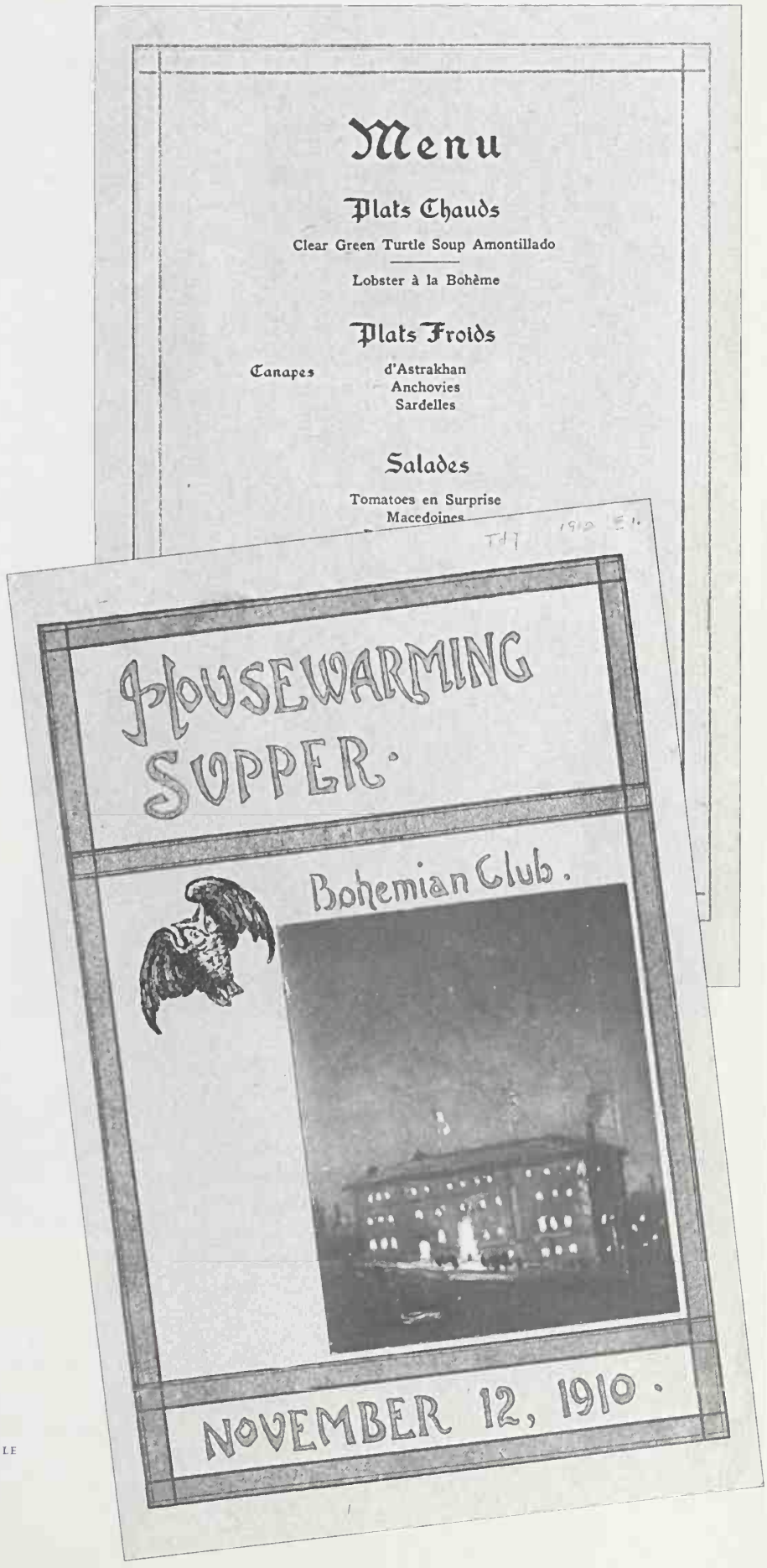
certainty based on accounts from naturalists in the field and the few state and federal commercial fishery records that remain.

"PRETTY GOOD SOUPS"

In 1894, U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries Captain J. W. Collins summed up San Francisco's growth, saying "As a whole, San Francisco and vicinity may be considered one of the leading fishing centers of the United States, and its possibilities for development in that direction are believed to be very great."[31]

Although Captain Collins did not mention turtles, terrapins were sought after for "the rich turtle soups and stews of San Francisco's hotels and restaurants."[32] In 1863, California Academy of Sciences curator of zoology James G. Cooper was the first to document the terrapin fisheries, mentioning offhandedly that "west of the Rocky Mountains . . . but one species of the family is known to be common, the terrapin of our markets, (*Actinomys* [sic] *marmorata, Agass*)."[33] In 1868, Titus Fey Cronise confirmed in "The Natural Wealth of California" that the terrapin fisheries were well under way. "The Western Terrapin (2. *Actinemys marmorata*) is abundant in all the fresh waters," and they "are almost constantly for sale in the markets of San Francisco, and make pretty good soups, though much inferior to the Sea-turtles."[34] Although the San Francisco market was most often the destination for terrapins caught in the hinterlands, terrapins were also sold in other markets throughout California—"up and down the coast," according to Latta—although no others are specifically named.[35]

The effects of the terrapin harvest were noted early on. An 1879 account explained "terrapins were once so common in the creeks and ponds



menu from a 1910 Bohemian Club dinner illustrates ist how much of a luxury item turtle soup could be.
[ENU DETAIL: FROM THE TAYLOR & TAYLOR ARCHIVE IN THE KEMBLE OLLECTIONS ON WESTERN PRINTING AND PUBLISHING, CALIFORNIA ISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Among the many etchings Austrian-born artist John William Joseph Winkler (1890–1979) created capturing life in San Francisco and the East Bay was his 1919 plate "Chinaman and Turtle." The image depicts the so-called "Chinaman" chopping what appears to be a bunch of celery while the "Turtle" —presumably the key ingredient —looks on. The turtle (pictured bottom left) could have been any one of several species of turtle, including the western pond turtle.

Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, de Young Museum.

around the bay, but the constant demand for their flesh has made them scarce."[36] As local turtle populations throughout the San Francisco Bay Area were exhausted, especially around the marshlands at the mouth of the Sacramento-San Joaquin delta, subsequent trapping efforts eventually radiated outward along the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys. Other locales cited were Whites Bridge Slough of Fresno County,[37] Visalia of Tulare County, Knight's Ferry of Stanislaus County, Tuolumne County,[38] McArthur of Shasta County,[39] and Tulare Lake of Kings County.[40]

By 1883, a minimum of 3,600 terrapins, representing the haul of one trapper in Tulare Lake, was sent to San Francisco in one season.[41] In all likelihood, these terrapins in no way represented the true scope of the harvest underway. In 1886, the Commissioners of Fisheries of the State of California declared that terrapins "taken in all of the inland lakes and rivers of central California . . . are in good demand at all times and in consequence of consumption, show a slight decrease from former years."[42]

In 1892, another historical account reiterated, "Terrapin are caught in large quantities and shipped to the San Francisco market."[43] Indeed, of the records that remain, the 1890s marked the apex of the terrapin fisheries. During the years 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, and 1892, U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries records documenting the products of the fisheries of the Pacific Coast reported 12,000, 14,400, 16,800, 18,000, and 16,800 terrapins passing through the San Francisco market alone.[44]

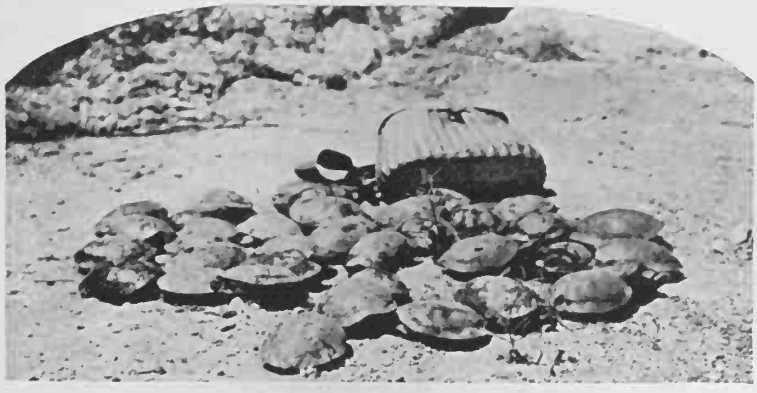
Beginning in 1895, terrapin harvests were intermittently reported in pounds instead of dozens. Fortunately, harvest data between 1922 and 1924 reported terrapins in both dozens and pounds, offering an average weight per turtle of two pounds.[45] Thus, assuming terrapins harvested at this time averaged two pounds each and ranged between five and eight inches in length, in 1895 between 24,000 and 47,115 (94,230 lbs) terrapins were sold in San Francisco for three to five dollars per dozen.[46] And at the apparent height of the terrapin fisheries in 1899, an estimated

53,935 terrapins (107,869 lbs) were harvested from San Joaquin, Solano, Sonoma, Stanislaus, and Contra Costa counties.[47]

In subsequent years, records of the terrapin fisheries again become scarce until after the turn of the century. An isolated record from 1904 documented an estimated 12,740 terrapins (25,500 lbs) harvested in San Joaquin and Sacramento counties.[48] Then, starting in 1918 (and possibly earlier), the California Fish and Game Commission began tracking commercial landing information based on receipts or fish-tickets submitted by markets and packing facilities. That year, 557 terrapins (513 lbs + three hundred individuals) were harvested from Mendocino, Sonoma, Lake, Solano, Yolo, and Marin counties.[49] In 1919, a reported 2,040 terrapins were harvested from Mendocino, Sonoma, Lake, Del Norte, Humboldt, San Francisco, San Mateo, Tehema, Colusa, Sutter, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, and Ventura counties.[50] From 1920 to 1924, Fish and Game reports documented 72, 60, 420, 1,128, and 156 terrapins in the markets, a good portion of which came from the Sacramento and San Joaquin regions.[51]

In 1928, 1930, and 1931, Fish and Game reported 84 (168 lbs), 359 (718 lbs), and 330 (660 lbs) terrapins in the commercial fisheries.[52] These numbers, however, again most likely represent an underestimate of the intensity of the commercial and private harvests underway. In 1931, Tracy Irwin Storer, Assistant Professor of Zoology at U.C. Davis, spoke with muskrat farmer Jerry Masek, who alone was keeping 1,400 western pond turtles "in an icy cold aquatic pen holding them for market."[53] Assuming, as before, that each terrapin averaged two pounds, Masek's side-business represented more than four times the estimated 330 terrapins officially reported for the San Francisco market that year.

After 1931, western pond turtles abruptly and altogether disappeared from the record books. This cessation could represent any number of



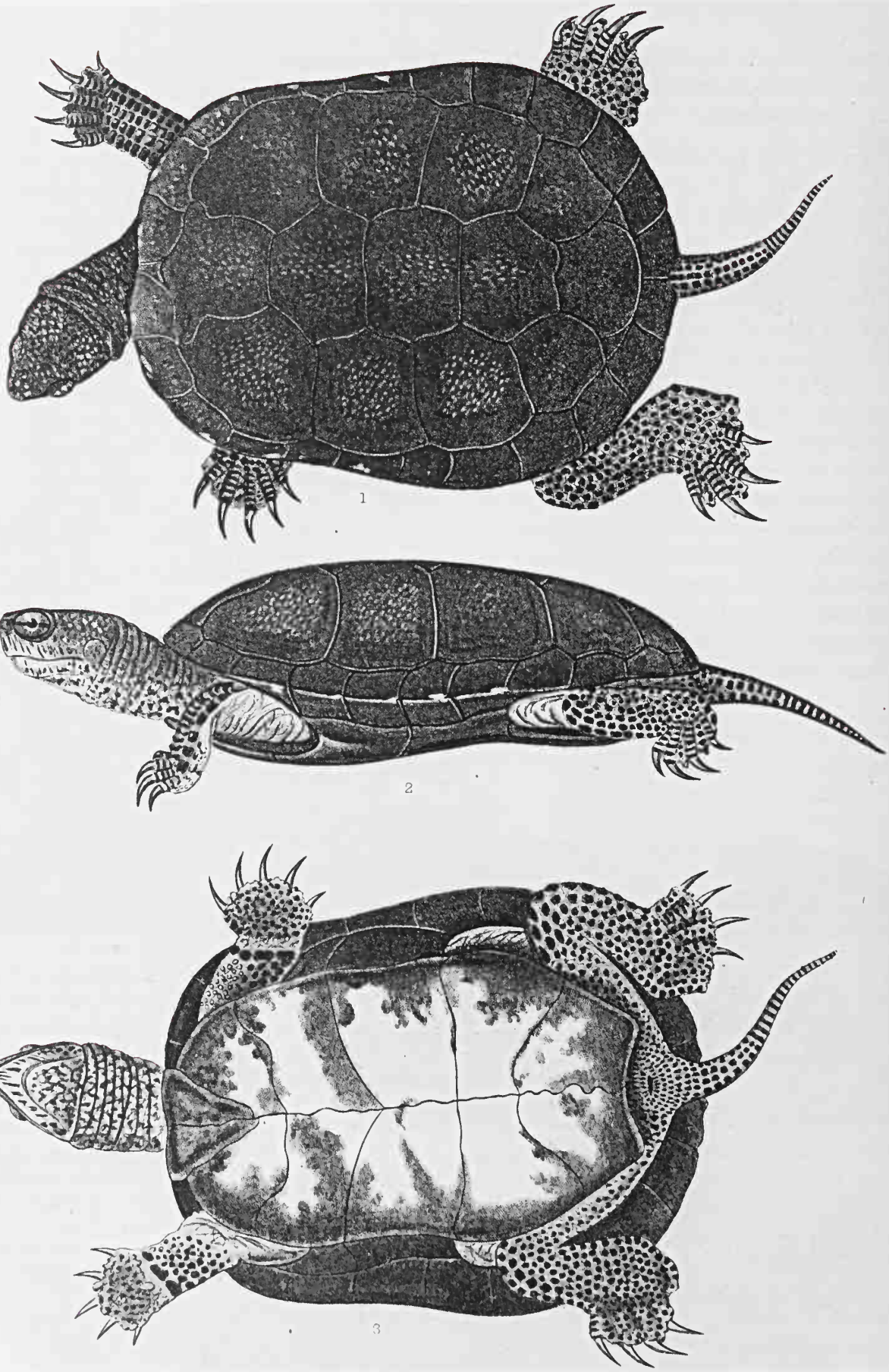
A TORTOISE CONCLAVE
They are not looking for fish—but are protesting their removal from their favorite riffles and rocks

"Turtles" *of the West*

Concerning A Tortoise That Has Speed

by O. L. Brauer

Oscar Lee Brauer's account of his exploits with the "pond tortoise" describes the "country club existence" such turtles lead. The more than 30 turtles depicted at left "protesting their removal from their favorite riffles and rocks" probably thought otherwise. In 1929 Brauer noted that "the number of tortoises that live in a small stream is quite large. I counted nine dozen in a distance of three miles up one small creek; ten individuals were in one riffle." Unfortunately the locations of the streams and creek remain unknown.
FROM O. L. BRAUER, "'TURTLES' OF THE WEST: CONCERNING A TORTOISE THAT HAS SPEED," *NATURE MAGAZINE* 14, NO. 5 (1929).



factors: an official decision to omit terrapins from future harvest records, a scarcity of terrapins, or a culinary shift in taste away from terrapin soup. Most likely, the delicacy that was turtle soup became too rich for the millions of Americans struggling through the post-1929 depression brought on by "Black Thursday," the New York stock market crash. Earlier that year, a *Nature Magazine* article on western pond turtles concluded "Either he does not taste as good as his cousin [the diamondback terrapin] or else he is not so well advertised among the wealthy. Relatively few of them are sold on the market."[54]

WHEN SIZE MATTERS

More than just the number of turtles harvested can be gleaned from these descriptions of the fisheries. Incidental notations of turtle shell size provide some insight into how populations extant in the wild today reflect the intense culling they underwent over the last 150 years.

The earliest descriptions and depictions of adult western pond turtle size appeared incidentally in two illustrations by J. (John) H. Richard. The first of these plates, Richard's *Actinemys marmorata*, appeared in Plate 32 of Girard's 1858 version of the "United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842" in the volume, "Herpetology. Atlas." Of those shells depicted in Plate 32, the largest, "fig. 1, represent[ing] the outline, half from above and half from below, of a female specimen, from Sacramento River, California" and "drawn the size of life," measures approximately 7 inches from tip-to-tip (straight-line carapace length).[55]

One of the earliest scientific descriptions of the western pond turtle was by Edward Hallowell based on a specimen collected in Kern County, California, at "Posa Creek." Hallowell was a naturalist connected with railroad surveys to explore the feasibility of a railroad running from the Mississippi River to the Pacific.

From Edward Hallowell, "Report of Explorations in California for Railroad Routes..." vol. X, part IV, no. 1 (1859) plate 1 in *Reports of explorations and surveys, to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, Charles Wilkes (Washington: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1856-1860).

The second of Richard's plates, *Emys nigra*, accompanied Edward Hallowell's 1859 "Report Upon Reptiles of the Route." Although in text Hallowell described his specimen to have a "length of carapax [sic], 6 1/2 inches, measured along curvature superiorly," the plate was subsequently described in the "Explanation of the Plates" as "Half natural size," suggesting Richard's model measured just shy of 8 inches in length tip-to-tip (straight-line carapace length).[56]

In 1862, Alexander Alexandrovich Strauch, curator of the Imperial Academy of Sciences Zoological Museum in St. Petersburg (now the Russian Academy of Sciences), described several new species of turtle.[57] Revisiting his earlier assignations of turtle specimens held in the Zoological Museum in 1890, Strauch listed nine specimens of *Clemmys marmorata*; the two largest specimens, both collected from the Sacramento River in 1843 and 1876, measured approximately 7 and 7 3/4 inches in length respectively.[58] The smaller of these turtles, previously described by Strauch in 1862 as *Clemmys wosnessenskyi*, was portrayed in his 1862 work in a color plate depicting the plastron, carapace, and profile of the turtle.

In years to come, written accounts became more detailed. Reports in 1868 cited that those terrapins for sale in the markets measured "eight or nine inches in length,"[59] in 1883 that the largest were "eight inches long and eight inches broad,"[60] and in 1887 that "the shell frequently measur[ed] seven or eight inches."[61] By 1895, "examples over 5 inches in length [were] not common, although the species is said to attain a length of 8 inches."[62]

In a series of visits to local turtle trappers and vendors after the turn of the century, Storer documented the turtle trade in its twilight. In 1923

Storer wrote that Bill Ayers, a trapper with whom he had visited, "indicates that the approximate size of the largest as about 10′′ long and 7–8′′ broad."[63] Two years later, Storer personally measured fifty turtles at a San Francisco turtle vendor and found that those "turtles on hand are about 5 1/2 to 7 inches in length."[64]

In 1929 Storer met with Sam Lamme, a trapper who "indicated that turtles up to 11′′ across (? in. lengthwise ?) [sic] of the carapace were taken at times."[65] And by 1930, while recounting his 1923 visit with Bill Ayers, Storer summarized that the largest of Ayers' turtles "were reported to be up to 10 inches in length and 7 to 8 inches in breadth, though I [Storer] have never seen one over 7 1/2 inches long."[66]

Even today, Storer's observations hold true as wild-caught adult pond turtles typically measure 5 to 6 1/2 inches in length. The largest California specimens reported in the wild are males recorded in Alameda and Marin counties within the last five years by herpetologist Pierre Fidenci measuring approximately 7 3/4 and 8 3/4 inches (197 and 223 mm), two exceptional rarities today.[67] These observations noted in the field by biologists suggest that western pond turtles are still recovering from years of exploitation in what habitat remains.

TO "TURTLE"

For a fishery that provided such a sought-after delicacy, surprisingly few traces remain describing the techniques trappers employed to harvest California's terrapins. Fortunately, those extant today illustrate in outstanding detail how trappers went about their task. According to several accounts, fishermen working Tulare Lake employed a common fishing seine one hundred feet in length, fastened on both ends to a sixty-foot long, half-inch rope known as a brail. Standing two hundred feet apart, two men would stretch the seine between them via the brails so that the seine hung submerged two to four feet deep. Once the seine was set, the men would drag it between them toward the shoreline or parallel to it, depending on the whereabouts of the turtles. After wading one to two hundred yards, one would circle around the other drawing the seine closed and pull it ashore to remove and sack the turtles for shipment. On a good day, this method would yield as many as eighty or ninety turtles each set. [68]

Entrepreneurs included Mr. Hill of Lemoore, "the most active terrapin fisherman," and William "Bill" Browning, who fished Tulare Lake between 1884 and 1894 for fish and terrapin. Looking to make some quick cash, Browning was by one account "one of the first men to fish and hunt commercially in the Lake area."[69]

> [Browning] expanded his business, hired several men, built nets, and traps and went after it in a big way. Tulare Lake was loaded with fish and not being satisfied with a mere thirty foot net, Browning constructed one a quarter of a mile long. This net he would have dragged out into the lake by horses, spread open, then pulled toward shore, scooping up everything before it.[70]

By Latta's accounts, Browning oversaw four men and operated three boats, operating out of the old John B. Stokes ranch on northwestern Tulare Lake "on the largest scale of any Tulare Lake fisherman." Though he reputedly landed upwards of a thousand pounds of "choice fish," terrapins averaged "several dozen" a catch, which Browning packed two dozen to a barley sack and shipped them to "a ready market in San Francisco" on a Railroad Express Car.[71]

At around the same time, a number of large crafts were employed plying the waters of Tulare Lake "in connection with the traffic in terrapins."[72] One such "sailing vessel," the Water Witch, was a local boat captained by the McCoy brothers who successfully fished for terrapins[73] until the boat sank in a storm in 1882.[74] In one season, their efforts yielded "as many as 300 dozen" (3,600) terrapins. According to Latta, the Tulare Lake terrapin industry thrived such that it "led to the naming of Terrapin Bay, where these reptiles

are said to once have been more plentiful than at any other place on Tulare Lake." Described to be a "very safe harbor from the northern winds and waves," Terrapin Bay was protected to the north by Gordon's Point, a low-lying sandy beach that extended a half-mile from shore.[75]

Other accounts describe the use of fyke nets, known to fisherman as "turtle nets" and "turtle traps." These fykes were inexpensive setups, valued at one or two dollars apiece (in 1894). They consisted of a framework of three hoops constructed from either "light iron" or "a ring of heavy galvanized iron" twenty-four to thirty inches in diameter. Around the iron hoops, 1 1/4- to 2-inch diamond-shaped mesh netting (described by Storer as "gill netting") was hung to form a sort of mesh barrel forty-eight inches long. At either end an inverted mesh funnel strung inward with cord provided an eight-inch wide, half to one-inch high reinforced aperture through which turtles could enter. Bait was suspended from the middle iron hoop by cord.[76]

As reported in 1895, these nets were illegal in California; set nets had been prohibited to prevent the incidental take of desirable freshwater fish such as shad and striped bass on spawning grounds or while immature. However, since the prohibition "was not intended to limit the turtle fishery . . . the legal question [was] waived" as long as the fyke nets caught only catfish, carp, chubs, and turtle.[77]

Once constructed, the fyke nets were set in a slough or river bottom. Some were staked firmly in place and had to be checked often, while others were designed to float to prevent the turtles from drowning. Those fykes set to float were kept taught by running a strip of redwood, which doubled as a float, along their lengths on either side. Those set securely were fastened to staves at either end, much like a tent. According to Storer, trapper Bill Ayers explained that trapped turtles could "regulate their specific gravity," raising and sinking the traps as needed to breathe.[78]

After checking his traps, Ayers would place the turtles in an old, half-submerged scow lined with wet mud, dry sand, and shelves upon which the turtles could bask. This holding pen was covered with chicken wire to prevent their escape, and the turtles were fed chopped carp and held until the weather began to turn cold. Then, Ayers would cover the turtles beneath three inches of mud and a layer of dead leaves, through which each turtle would fashion a breathing hole.[79]

When the market was ripe, Ayers would begin shipping the largest turtles to market in barley sacks of as many as fifty-four turtles apiece. Ayers shipped the largest turtles (ten inches) in December at four dollars per dozen (sixteen to twenty-four per sack), the medium sized turtles in January, and the smallest (three inches) in February at three dollars per dozen. By March, the shipping season would end. Ayers also tried his hand at rearing young turtles by allowing the females to deposit their eggs in the sand.[80] However, there is no indication as to whether or not Ayer's efforts were successful, or if the captive-raised turtles constituted a significant portion of his business.

Other accounts suggest trappers were less attentive to their catch. In his examination of the fisheries, one naturalist noted that:

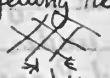
> A terrapin thus kept and not fed, gradually diminishes in weight, but is not injured in any other way. During its confinement it is really feeding on its own fat, and small as is the range of its activities, and gradual the waste ensuing from them, the results are obvious after a month or two; so that a terrapin kept six or seven months without food, though still alive, is little but shell, bone and skin.[81]

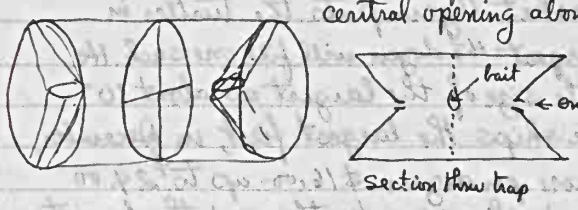
Similarly, in the 1920s and 30s, trappers collecting along the central coast apparently drained ponds and vernal pools. The caught turtles were kept in washtubs until they were shipped to markets.[82]

The markets catered to specific crowds: Trapper Sam Lamme of Live Oak, Sutter County, shipped

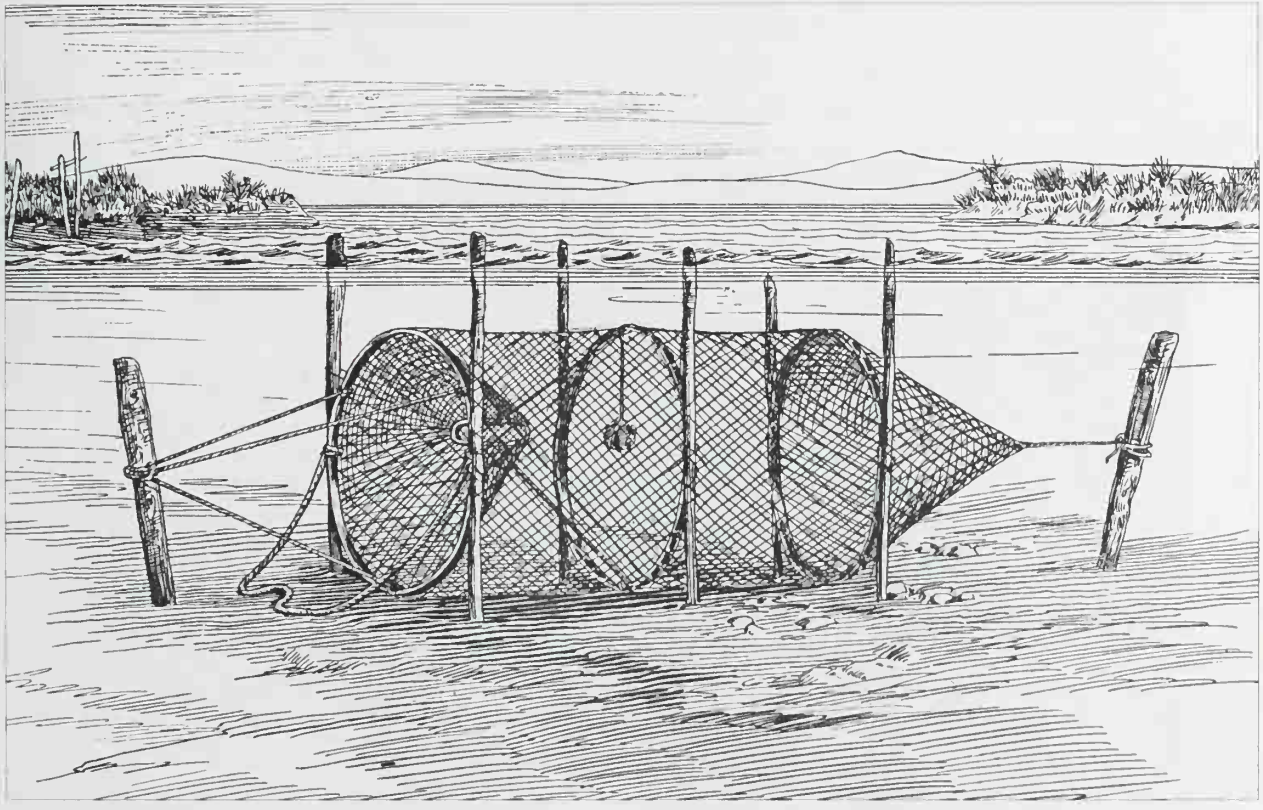
March 16, 1923 (613)

California Mud Turtle (Clemmys marmorata). I questioned Bill Ayers closely about the mud turtles on White's Bridge slough. J. Dixon had told me that Ayers trapped for the market.

Ayers is just getting ready to "turtle" (i.e. trap for turtles). He purchases a net  of mesh about 1¼" from supply houses, makes a barrel shaped net about 24" in diameter and 48" long with a galvanized iron wire ring at either end and in the middle. Then an inward directed funnel is built in each end with a central opening about 8" wide and ½" to 1" high. The edges of the opening are reinforced with cord. A pair of crossed strings on the central ring supports the meat or fish used for bait. Two strips of wood (redwood) are used, one along each side to keep the trap extended and taut and also to float it at the surface of the water. A nail driven into the side of ~~the~~ stick near each end catches against the metal ring and extends the net.



The trap is set in a likely place along the slough. The turtles do not enter the trap at once. They may sit on the trap for several days before entering. Evidently they do not feed until hungry. Then several may enter at nearly the same time. The trap alone floats. If it were to sink the turtles would quickly drown and then would be useless for market purposes. When in the trap the turtles regulate their own specific gravity (just how I do not know; expelling air or taking water into the cloaca might increase their specific gravity sufficiently to sink them) and the mass effect is to sink and raise the trap according to the needs of the animals. The turtles are accumulated from the traps and put into a pen and old scow, half in and half out of the water. This has mud on the bottom, sand in the upper, dry part, shelves at the side on which the turtles can sun themselves and a chicken-wire screen over the whole so as to prevent the escape of the animals. Plenty of food, chopped carp, etc. is put in. The turtles feed at intervals. Ayers says after one lot of animals has fed they go into the mud and do not reappear for a while. In the meanwhile another lot takes the places of the first bunch. He bases this belief on his observation that for a while the turtles will be tame,

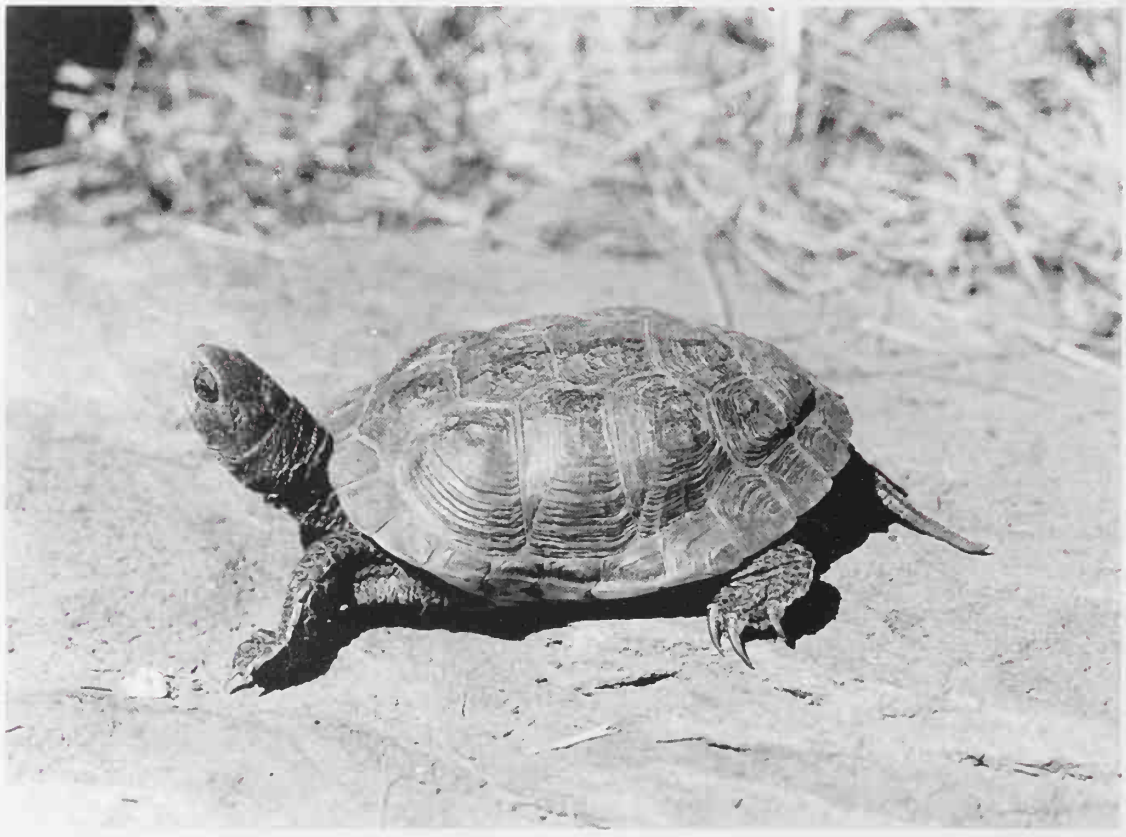


(Above) *Fyke nets, or "terrapin nets" like the one pictured here, were staked to the slough or river bottom and baited to attract turtles. This fyke, depicted submerged below the Sacramento River, had to be checked often by trappers to prevent their catch from drowning. Other types of fyke nets were designed to float at the water's surface. Note the oval aperture that would allow turtles to access the fyke and the bait suspended from the central iron hoop.*

From Frederick W. True, "Section I. Natural History of Useful Aquatic Animals, with an Atlas of Two Hundred and Seventy-seven Plates," in *The Fisheries and Fishery Industries of the United States*, George Brown Goode (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884) plate 14. Courtesy California Academy of Sciences, Special Collections.

(Left) *After a 1923 visit to turtle trapper Bill Ayers in Whites Bridge Slough, naturalist Tracy Irwin Storer made a rough sketch of a turtle trap in his field notes. "The trap alone floats. If it were to sink, the turtles would quickly drown and then would be useless for market purposes. When in the trap the turtles regulate their own specific gravity... and the mass effect is to sink and raise the trap according to the needs of the animals."*

From Tracy Irwin Storer, Field Notes 1920-1924, 16 March 1923, Tracy Irwin Storer Collection, California Academy of Sciences, San Francisco. Courtesy California Academy of Sciences, Special Collections



This photograph of a "Pacific Coast Terrapin" was taken in May 1934 during a Klamath River stream survey near Fall Creek, Siskiyou County, California.
From the Leo Shapovalov Collection, California Academy of Sciences, San Francisco. Courtesy California Academy of Sciences, Special Collections.

his turtles to "exclusive clubs and . . . the Chinese,"[83] S. Beck and Company of San Francisco supplied frogs and turtles to "colleges and restaurants,"[84] and Jerry Masek, the muskrat farmer out of McArthur, Shasta County, kept approximately 1,400 turtles for eventual sale in Chinatown.[85]

According to Storer's accounts, by 1925 Sigmund Beck of S. Beck and Company had been in the business more than twenty-two years. Although this would suggest that he had been in business prior to 1903, the San Francisco City Directory first lists Beck in 1907 under "Beck S & Co (Sigmund Beck) fish." In 1910, Beck's business advertised "frogs, terrapin and mushrooms," then expanded in 1912 to include a restaurant. Two years later, however, Beck resumed business as usual, advertising "fish, frogs, terrapins and mushrooms." In 1920 and 1921, Beck listed his business simply under "S & Co fish," and between 1922 and 1924 under "S & Co frogs and mushrooms." From 1925 to 1928 he advertised "mushrooms," then just "fish" from 1929 through the presumed end of the turtle fisheries in 1931.[86]

In 1925, Storer described S. Beck and Company as "the only dealer in this line now in San Francisco." Sigmund Beck's sales tanks, measuring five feet long, three feet wide, and twenty-one inches high, held upwards of fifty turtles shipped from the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys. Other turtles were "merely kept in wooden boxes (redwood) dry until wanted."[87]

Chas W. Coombes, salesman and clerk for S. Beck and Company between 1918 to 1927 (and possibly as late as 1931, when both Beck and Coombes disappear from the San Francisco City Directory),[88] oversaw a holding pond on the "Coombes farm at So. San Francisco."[89] One of the few traces of the turtle fisheries that remain is Coombes' business card, which reads: "City Frog & Terrapin Co. / DEALERS IN / FROGS, TERRAPIN, BROOK TROUT / Crawfish, Cultivated Mushrooms / [illegible] SAN FRANCISCO / Hotels, Restaurants, Schools and Colleges Supplied."[90]

A SPECIES OF SPECIAL CONCERN

As a result of the intense terrapin fisheries, not to mention the more immediate threats of development and habitat loss they face today, western pond turtle populations have plummeted and the species is generally accepted as declining and as threatened or endangered in the biological and herpetological communities. Nonetheless, they have yet to gain sufficient formal recognition or legal designation as such to adequately consider, much less address the conservation of the species.

The historical range of the western pond turtle along the Pacific Coast once ranged as far north as Klickitat County, Washington, and as far south as northern Baja California, Mexico. Dan Holland, the world's foremost authority on the western pond turtle, estimates that several million western pond turtles once inhabited California's Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys. Tulare Lake might have historically supported upwards of four million turtles alone.[91] Pioneer accounts in the 1800s described the number of turtles as having been so great that "they could be seen on the banks of Tulare Lake and on drift logs so thick that the ground was completely covered. When disturbed they popped into the water in a solid mass making a roar like the surf on a beach" "Once the largest body of fresh water west of the Great Lakes," what was once Tulare Lake is farmland, the water diverted to irrigate cotton and safflowers.[92]

In 1996 it was estimated that Washington State supported three isolated populations of pond turtles in Klickitat, Skamania, and Pierce counties totaling 311 turtles. The species is found in greater numbers through Oregon and California, although throughout its range, especially the San Joaquin Valley and southern California, populations are declining. Most historical populations in Baja California have been extirpated.

In Washington the western pond turtle is listed as a federal Species of Concern and State-Endangered, and in Oregon the turtle is listed as a Sensitive Species. In California, once the focus of western pond turtle exploitation, the western pond turtle is a Species of Special Concern with

the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and the California Department of Fish and Game, a designation that affords the species little recognition or legal protection. In 1992 the western pond turtle was petitioned by herpetologists Mark Jennings, Marc Hayes, and Dan Holland for listing with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, but, in 1993, the service found that "the western pond turtle does not meet either the definition of an endangered or a threatened species at the present time."[93]

Biologists have estimated that more than 90 percent of California's wetlands that historically fell within the western pond turtle's range have since been destroyed or altered.[94] Although a number of factors—including past and present water projects, urbanization and development, habitat fragmentation, disease, drought, competition with introduced non-native turtles, and predation by introduced species such as the bullfrog and largemouth bass (predators certainly capable of eating young turtles)—will determine the future of the remaining western pond turtle populations, their decline was set in motion more than 150 years ago with the settlement of the West.

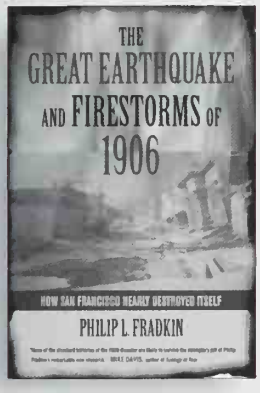
Even today, western pond turtles are subject to illegal collection for consumption, albeit to a lesser degree. In the 1980s and 90s, herpetologist Harold De Lisle and herpetologist/UCSB professor Sam Sweet witnessed individuals collecting western pond turtles in burlap sacks from Piru and Sespe Creek and the Santa Ynez River. They were presumably collecting the turtles to sell as food or as pets. On one occasion, Sweet observed a group of people carrying three burlap sacks full of western pond turtles collected from Sespe Creek, totaling more than one hundred turtles.[95]

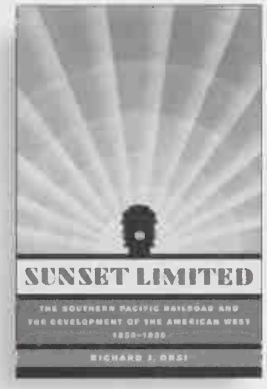
There is some irony in the fact that the Commissioners of Fisheries of the State of California acknowledged a decline in local turtle populations more than one hundred years ago. And today, after untold years of harvest, plus the added weight of more contemporary threats, the state and federal agencies responsible for protecting our natural resources have yet to realize the plight of California's native inland turtle.

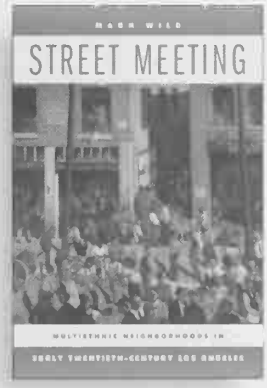
Now, in the streams and marshlands where western pond turtles once teemed sit cookie-cutter communities and strip malls. Where western pond turtles were once widespread, they are now merely a rare, fleeting splash in a pond. The historical harvest data, unreported until now, puts the present status of the western pond turtle into perspective. Hopefully, this information may allow us to make better decisions in the future when it comes to conserving the remaining western pond turtle populations and habitat left in our stewardship.

Matthew Bettelheim is a graduate of the University of California at San Diego with a Bachelor's degree in Science, majoring in Ecology, Behavior, and Evolution. He is a wildlife biologist with Sycamore Associates LLC, and an intern with *Bay Nature* magazine. His previous work has appeared in *Faultline*, *Earth Island Journal*, *Outdoor California*, *Bay Nature*, and *California Wild*. "Marmorata . . . " is the culmination of over two years worth of research. Anyone with further information on the historical western pond turtle fisheries can contact him at blackfish@nasw.org.

California Perspectives







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Los Angeles Dodgers vs. San Francisco Giants, April 1958

By Kevin Nelson

The Los Angeles Dodgers may have begun and the Brooklyn Dodgers may have ended on a pleasant October day in Los Angeles in 1956. After losing to the New York Yankees in the World Series, the Dodgers flew cross-country on their way to a goodwill baseball tour of Japan. During their stopover in Los Angeles, Brooklyn owner Walter O'Malley met County Supervisor Kenneth Hahn for a helicopter ride around the city. But their purpose was not to see the sights; they were investigating possible places to put a new baseball stadium, should the Brooklyn franchise elect to pull up stakes and move west.

The search focused on Chavez Ravine, a three-hundred acre parcel of public land north of downtown. Named after Julian Chavez, a former owner of the land and a past city councilman, the site had been a source of controversy for years. In a bitterly contested civic debate, Los Angeles voters had turned down a proposal to build public housing there. Partly on the strength of his opposition to the referendum, Norris Poulson won election as mayor a few years later.

Since taking office Poulson had tried unsuccessfully to interest various groups in the site. About the only party to express serious interest was a cemetery that wanted to use it for burial plots. Then the Brooklyn Dodgers Baseball Club entered the picture. The possibility of a major league team—and not just any team, but one of the oldest and grandest in the history of the game—coming to Los Angeles caused a stir in the mayor's office and around the city. But a major league team would need a place to play its games, and suddenly Chavez Ravine became a vital piece of the puzzle.

To give the visiting Brooklyn owner a full appreciation of the site's potential, the Sheriff's Department provided the use of a helicopter for O'Malley and his host. They could see things from the air that they could not from the ground, and there it was, the whole panorama of Greater Los Angeles in the prosperous 1950s stretched out beneath their feet. The first freeway in the state, the Pasadena Freeway connecting Pasadena with Los Angeles, had opened in the previous decade, and since then an interlocking web of freeways had spread across the region. The automobile had freed people from needing to live so close to where they worked, and this newly mobile population was moving to the suburbs. The heavily agrarian pre–World War II California way of life was rapidly giving way to the needs of a growing urban and suburban population, and housing tracts were sprouting on what were once farmlands and orange groves.

The man from Brooklyn could see all this from the air, as well as the location of Chavez Ravine near a network of freeways. The new park would be a car-friendly place, providing Dodger fans in

On April 13, 1958, one hundred thousand enthusiastic baseball fans lined Montgomery Street in San Francisco to welcome the city's first major league baseball team, the former New York Giants. Under the "welcome" sign is Mayor George Christopher, his car flanked by men wearing giant baseball masks. Legendary batter Willie Mays and other team members hailed the welcome as "just great." San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library. *San Francisco News-Call Bulletin* photograph by Bob Warren.

WELCOME S.F. Giants
WELCOME S.F. Giants
E.F. Hutton
SECURITIES
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REPAIRING
MARKET

In October 1957, a Los Angeles Herald Examiner *photographer points out the future location of home plate for Dodger Stadium. Chavez Ravine was identified as the only potential site for the stadium even before the Brooklyn Dodgers moved to Los Angeles. After legal battles that went all the way to the California Supreme Court, resident Mexican American families were bought out and relocated and construction began in 1959.*

Los Angeles Public Library, *Herald Examiner* Collection

the outlying suburbs with easy access in and out. Beyond this, O'Malley could look across the dry, brown valleys and hills and see large and growing communities that were only certain to grow larger in the future. The potential was vast.

When the helicopter set down and the tour ended, O'Malley and Supervisor Hahn shook hands—easily the most controversial handshake in the long history of baseball. Did O'Malley, as some have alleged, agree to move the Dodgers to Los Angeles at that moment and furthermore tell Hahn to keep this information secret because of the public outcry that would surely erupt if news of their pact leaked out in Brooklyn? The answer to this question, like so many others involving the move of the Dodgers to Los Angeles, is not clear. No franchise shift in professional sports history has ever engendered so much rancor and emotion. And sorting out the facts of the matter, which frequently contradict, depending as they do on the perspective of who is telling the story and the particular ax he or she has to grind, is complicated still more by the figure at the center of the controversy, Walter O'Malley. To this day Brooklyn fans accuse him of nothing less than betrayal and treachery.

Born in New York in the early 1900s, the son of a New York city commissioner, O'Malley finished first in his graduating class at the University of Pennsylvania. After obtaining a law degree from Fordham, he hung out his attorney's shingle in Manhattan, where he began to provide legal services to the Dodgers in Brooklyn. His involvement with the club grew, and he and Branch Rickey (and another individual) purchased a controlling interest in the mid-1940s. But a management team of O'Malley and Rickey, the pioneering executive who signed Jackie Robinson to break organized baseball's color barrier, was never going to work; both were commanding personalities who needed to be in charge. A struggle for control took place, and Rickey lost and left Brooklyn. By the end of the decade O'Malley had emerged the victor. They were his team; he ran the Dodgers.

This assertion—that O'Malley controlled the fate of the Dodgers, not the fans who had stuck with them over the years, dying a little with every defeat and rejoicing with every win—partly explains the acrimony that some still hold toward the man a quarter-century after his death. "O'Malley was the first to say out loud that [baseball] was all business, a business that he owned and could operate as he chose," wrote Red Smith, a New York columnist of the time.

Critics of O'Malley, particularly New Yorkers upset by the move, tend to portray him as a kind of capitalist buccaneer—arrogant, cheap, with dreams (never realized) of cashing in on a potential pay-television bonanza with the Dodgers—and certainly he looked the part in a double-breasted business suit and tie, glasses, combed-back dark hair that was graying at the temples, and a jowly chin. A photograph during this era shows him sitting probably at a Los Angeles City Council meeting with his son Peter, who ultimately inher-

In March 1962 Walter F. O'Malley, owner of the Los Angeles Dodgers, tosses a baseball on the grounds of the nearly completed Dodger Stadium. Critics of O'Malley, particularly New Yorkers upset by the team's move, tend to portray him as a kind of capitalist buccaneer—arrogant, cheap, and brash.
Los Angeles Public Library, *Herald Examiner* Collection

ited the Dodgers from his father. Peter, also wearing a suit and glasses, has his arms folded in a gesture of either boredom or nerves, while his father appears relaxed and confident, a man of power secure in the meeting rooms of power.

About a month after O'Malley's helicopter ride with Kenneth Hahn, the city of Los Angeles issued a study saying that yes, a baseball stadium could feasibly be built at Chavez Ravine. It recommended the appropriation of $2 million in starter money for the project, leaving unanswered the central questions of whether a privately-owned ballpark was an appropriate, not to mention legal, use of public land. Also left untouched was another hot potato political issue of what to do about the mostly Mexican American families who lived on the land.

In Los Angeles the Dodgers apparently only seriously considered Chavez Ravine as a potential site for their park, unlike in New York where O'Malley, unhappy with the club's aging longtime home of Ebbets Field, discussed with city officials several possible locations to build a new place to play. Negotiations in New York revolved around a variety of contentious issues, with each side increasingly viewing the other with mistrust. Then, in February 1957, O'Malley changed the power equation on both coasts with the blockbuster announcement of his $3 million purchase of the Los Angeles Angels and Wrigley Field in Los Angeles. The Angels had been the property of the Wrigley family for almost as long as the Wrigleys had been making chewing gum. They had built the landmark park at Forty-second Place and Avalon Boulevard and turned the Pacific Coast League Angels into perhaps the premiere minor league franchise in the country. The sale made front page headlines in Los Angeles and New York because its impact was clear: the owner of the Brooklyn Dodgers (and now, the Los Angeles Angels) was no longer merely contemplating a move to the West Coast, he now had a tangible connection to it, a foothold, and had locked up territorial rights in the area.

The next month Mayor Poulson, the leading advocate to bring the Dodgers to Los Angeles, flew with a delegation of city officials to Dodgers spring training camp in Vero Beach, Florida, to meet with O'Malley. They went armed with the virtually unanimous support of elected officials on the City Council and Board of Supervisors, the strong endorsement of business leaders and the business community at large, the editorial backing of the *Los Angeles Times* and other newspapers, and widespread popular approval. Even those who criticized the use of Chavez Ravine for a ballpark wanted to see the Dodgers come to town; their concerns, they said, had to do with the city obtaining an agreement that protected the interests of the public.

Seemingly all of Los Angeles, in short, wanted what Walter O'Malley had. An attorney, a businessman, and a tough negotiator, he held the whip hand in these discussions and was not afraid to use it. "One of our officials promised O'Malley the moon," said Poulson, "and O' Malley asked for more."

While conducting negotiations with Los Angeles, O'Malley continued to talk to New York about keeping the Dodgers in Brooklyn, engendering criticism that he was playing both sides against the other to get the best possible deal for himself. Even so, few in New York could see the business sense in moving one of the most profitable franchises in baseball out of the city. Baseball people around the country shared this view. "You had to be crazy to think a thing like that," said Dom DiMaggio, referring to the Dodgers possibly leaving Brooklyn. "And all the way to California? You had to be even crazier."

The major leagues had entertained thoughts of moving to California since before World War II. St. Louis Browns owner Donald Barnes was on the verge of proposing the relocation of his team to Los Angeles only to have his plans scuttled by bad timing. The day he planned to seek the approval of other American League owners was December 8, 1941, the day after Pearl Harbor. Obviously, more urgent war-related worries took precedence, and his proposal was tabled or quickly voted down.

Early in the next decade the geography of major league baseball began to shift westward. In the first major league franchise shift since the days of Teddy Roosevelt, the Boston Braves moved to Milwaukee in 1953. A team without a pulse in Beantown, the Braves found new life in their new city, emboldening the owners of other moribund clubs to launch moves of their own. The next year the Browns of St. Louis became the Orioles of Baltimore, followed next by the Athletics, who moved from their ancestral home of Philadelphia to Kansas City in 1955. If California's baseball fans naturally began to dream their own major league dreams, they could do so partly because of advances in a non-baseball arena: air transportation.

Originally used to transport military troops and cargo during World War II, the propeller-driven Douglas DC-6 and Lockheed Constellation, both engineered and built by California companies, had become the workhorses of commercial air travel, flying regular passenger service between the coasts. A trip from Los Angeles to New York took twelve hours, shorter by days than the same distance by train. The advent of jet aircraft reduced travel times still more. By 1958, the year the Dodgers and Giants began play in California, the Boeing 707 entered into commercial transcontinental service, bringing East and West closer together.

Technological advances of a different kind were changing the game in other ways. With the formation of the Mutual Radio network, fans all over the country could listen to major league games taking place in the East and Midwest. While this increased the popularity of the major leagues in California, it steadily undermined the Pacific Coast League's traditional hold on the state. If you could listen to the big boys on the box at home, why go out to the park to see the local minor leaguers play? For obvious reasons minor league baseball cannot compete with the major leagues, and when the Dodgers and Giants arrived it blew the bolts off Coast League baseball in the state. The Los Angeles Angels, Hollywood Stars, and San Francisco Seals all transferred out of California. A founding member of the league, the Oakland Oaks, had already packed up and gone to Vancouver, which left teams hanging on only in Sacramento and San Diego.

The movement to bring a major league team to San Francisco began in the early 1950s with the formation by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors of a major league search committee composed of leading citizens. As in Los Angeles, public opinion strongly supported their efforts. Voters approved a $5 million bond measure to build a new stadium in the city, and Mayor George Christopher made bringing a major league ballclub to San Francisco one of the top priorities of his administration.

With the state's two major cities now both in the hunt for a big league team, Christopher called Poulson in early 1957 to discuss their common interests. It was an exciting time full of promise. Poulson related how the Dodgers were seriously considering a move to Los Angeles, and he asked Christopher to support his bid for the team. Christopher said he would and asked the same of Poulson, who readily agreed. Both men could see the logic of not just one team moving to California, but two.

On the other side of the country, New York Giants owner Horace Stoneham and Walter O'Malley were doing some talking of their own. What made sense to the mayors made sense to them too. The longtime rivalry between the Giants and Dodgers could go on, should go on, only transplanted to different soil.

The conventional view is that O'Malley wanted to move the Dodgers but, needing the approval of the other National League owners and knowing he probably would not get it if he sought to relocate only his team, he persuaded Stoneham to move to San Francisco. But the Giants owner told author Peter Golenbock that he considered leaving New York well before O'Malley: "I had intended to move the Giants out of New York even before I knew Mr. O'Malley was intending to move. I was unhappy playing in the Polo

San Francisco Mayor George Christopher (left) and San Francisco Giants' President Horace Stoneham are dwarfed by a giant earth shovel as they inspect the site for the proposed new Giants' stadium to be erected at Candlestick Point. The longtime rivalry between the New York Giants and Brooklyn Dodgers could go on, transplanted to different soil.
San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library, United Press Photograph.

Grounds." Located in the upper reaches of Manhattan, the Polo Grounds was an ancient monument to baseball's past, and Stoneham wanted a new park for his team. Frustrated in his talks with New York officials, he began to cast about for a new city that might be more receptive to his concerns. But his first choice was Minneapolis, not San Francisco. It may be true that O'Malley helped change Stoneham's mind, but if San Francisco had not come up with an attractive offer, the Giants owner would have been much less likely to move his team there, if he would have done it at all.

In May Christopher flew to New York for a face-to-face with Stoneham. One of the things they agreed on was to talk exclusively over the phone and not to meet in person. High-profile meetings generated coverage and speculation in the press (of which there was already plenty), and they wanted to low-key it as much as possible. They talked almost every day, with the mayor acting as the Great Persuader, selling the Giants owner on the merits of San Francisco, how it had the population and prosperity to support a major league team, why it was better suited for this than Minneapolis, and how the city would build a new stadium for the team.

In early August Stoneham received a memorandum of understanding from the city of San Francisco, spelling out the terms of their agreement. The Giants board of directors voted their approval, and on August 19, 1957 Stoneham announced that the New York Giants were no more. When asked by a reporter if he felt he was letting down the children of New York by leaving the city, the owner of the new San Francisco Giants issued his now-famous remark: "I feel bad about the kids, but I haven't seen many of their fathers [at the ballpark] lately."

There are several reasons why the Giants' move to San Francisco never generated the controversy that accompanied the Dodgers. One was the personality of Stoneham, a less polarizing figure than O'Malley. Stoneham, whose father owned the Giants before him, came from a venerable

baseball family, while O'Malley was seen as more of a gate crasher in Brooklyn. Nor did the Giants in New York occupy the unique niche the Dodgers did as Brooklyn's only professional sports team. Brooklyn fans identified with their Bums as fully as a city (or in this case, a borough) can identify with a sports team. Additionally Jackie Robinson, Duke Snider, Pee Wee Reese, and the other Boys of Summer were a spectacularly good baseball team, the 1955 world champions and a perennial National League challenger to the Yankee dynasty of this period.

The Giants' August 19 announcement raised the stakes for the two cities competing over the Dodgers. New Yorkers realized that a ballclub could indeed leave their city, while Los Angeles officials, feeling the prize nearly within their grasp, scrambled to craft a winning agreement that would close the deal. In May the National League owners had unanimously approved the move of the Dodgers and Giants to California, as long as they declared their intentions by October 1. But as the clock ticked down toward the deadline, agreement seemed elusive as ever. In a tumultuous session on September 30, the Los Angeles City Council could not muster the two-thirds majority needed to approve its final offer sheet to the Dodgers. Lacking a formal resolution from the city, O'Malley would not commit to moving the team, and night passed into morning without a settlement.

Fortunately for Los Angeles, the National League owners extended their deadline, giving Dodger supporters on the council extra time to corral the votes they needed. In the end, the resolution passed, and on October 8 the Dodgers announced they were finished in Brooklyn and headed for the West Coast.

According to Neil J. Sullivan, author of the definitive book on the Dodgers move, this battle of civic wills came down to one of those intangibles that you hear about so often in sports: desire. Ultimately, he writes, "It was more important to Los Angeles politicians to attract the Dodgers than it was for New York politicians to keep the team." New York got beat in a game of power and money, a game it usually wins, and again the map of baseball had to be redrawn.

People had played baseball, or some form of it, in California since after the Gold Rush, but until the arrival of the Dodgers and Giants, the major leagues had never held a regular season game west of the Mississippi River. John Thorn, a leading baseball historian, says that the West Coast franchise shifts were the best thing to happen to major league baseball in the 1950s, making the national pastime truly national for the first time. "America's population had already begun the westward and southward shift that was to become so pronounced in the 1960s and '70s," Thorn writes. "The move to Los Angeles and San Francisco, rather than confirming those cities' stature as 'big league,' as is so often written, brought baseball into step with America, which had long recognized them as such. Baseball could now call itself the national pastime without apology."

Walter O'Malley and Horace Stoneham created a new industry in the state—major league baseball—and with it came opportunity. Rene Cardenas, a young Nicaraguan-born journalist living in Los Angeles, understood this immediately. And he had an idea how to take advantage of it.

Cardenas had immigrated to the city earlier in the decade, taking English classes at night and working as a stringer by day for the Los Angeles bureau of the Nicaraguan newspaper *La Prensa*, covering Pacific Coast League games and dreaming of the big leagues—*"las grandes ligas."* One of the writers he admired, Rudy Garcia of the Spanish-language *La Opinion*, was covering big league baseball "even though," in Cardenas's words, "the major leagues weren't in California. And I said, 'Wow. Imagine a Spanish man who writes about baseball.'"

But Cardenas's idea had to do with radio, not print. Soon after the Dodgers announced they were coming to town, he went to see William Beaton, the station manager of KWKW, then one of two Spanish-language radio stations in Los Angeles. His pitch was loaded with what every

station manager wants to hear: numbers. Since World War II the Hispanic population in southern California had jumped to 1.4 million, with nearly half living in Los Angeles. Most of these newcomers hailed from Mexico, especially northern Mexico, where literacy rates were low. Unable to read Spanish, let alone the English papers, they relied on radio for news and entertainment. (Television was not yet the all-pervasive force it would become.) Said Cardenas: "They were going to broadcast games on the radio. Why not do it in Spanish?"

Beaton thought the idea had merit, but the Dodgers needed to approve it first. The club in turn passed the proposal onto its advertising agency, which essentially echoed what Beaton said: If there's a market there, we want to be part of it.

Willie Mays signs autographs for fans dressed more for the garden club than the baseball stadium.
San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

The only thing left to decide was who would be the broadcaster. Hundreds of Spanish announcers sent in audition tapes but, partly on Beaton's recommendation, the job went to the guy who dreamed it up in the first place, Cardenas, who had done play-by-play baseball broadcasts in his native country and was known there as El Chelito, "the blond one."

In the spring of 1958 the new Spanish-language announcer for the Dodgers flew to Vero Beach to see the players in action and meet the club's number-one radio man, Vin Scully. A former New York prep schooler and a graduate of Fordham University, Scully, then in his late twenties, was making the move west to begin this new chapter in major league history. But neither he, Cardenas, or anyone else on the Dodgers—or, for that matter, the Giants—knew quite what to expect at the upcoming season opener in San Francisco. All anyone knew was that it promised to be wild.

April 15, 1958, was a sunny and mild day in San Francisco, a wonderful day for a ballgame. Some 23,448 people, including politicians, dignitaries, celebrities, and reporters from around the country, had squeezed into tiny Seals Stadium at Sixteenth and Bryant Streets to see the debut of major league baseball in California.

The host city had gone slightly batty for its new team. People began lining up at Seals Stadium a week ahead of time to buy tickets for Opening Day. Signs and billboards all around town proclaimed "Welcome S.F. Giants," careful not to forget the all-important "S.F." part of the message. The mannequins in the Macys windows sported Giants uniforms and caps, and at Joseph Magnin's department store, patrons received booklets of fashion advice on what to wear at the ballpark. A group of cheering fans, including a triumphant Mayor Christopher, greeted the Giants when they arrived at San Francisco Airport from spring training. But that was nothing compared to the hundreds of thousands of people who

Baseball fans rush through door to get to coveted seats for the April 15, 1958, opener between the San Francisco Giants and the Los Angeles Dodgers at San Francisco's Seals Stadium. The Giants shut out the Dodgers, 8–0.
San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

lined downtown streets for a welcoming parade for the team. Giants players, dressed in suits and ties, rode in slow-moving open convertibles as the fans in their enthusiasm surged forward off the sidewalk and into the street, in some cases getting so close to the players they could almost reach out and touch them.

After the parade, at a luncheon in honor of the men of the moment at the Sheraton Palace Hotel, Christopher awarded the key to the city to Bill Rigney, who stood out not only because he was manager of the Giants but because of his East Bay roots. Born in Alameda, Rigney was one of those boys who was always dragging around a bat and ball, looking for someone to play with. But when he tried out for his high school team, the coach told him to go home because he was too small. Rigney persisted, and the coach finally let him on the team. It was a wise choice because the scrawny, bespectacled youngster had talent to go along with his gumption. After Oakland High he signed with the hometown Oaks, and when World War II ended he joined the New York Giants as an infielder, moving up to manager a few years after his playing career ended. Coming back to the Bay Area represented a return to his baseball roots.

The gathering at Seals Stadium the next day was the greatest collection of baseball talent on one field in California history. It was a national and international assembly of people of different colors and backgrounds and at least two languages.

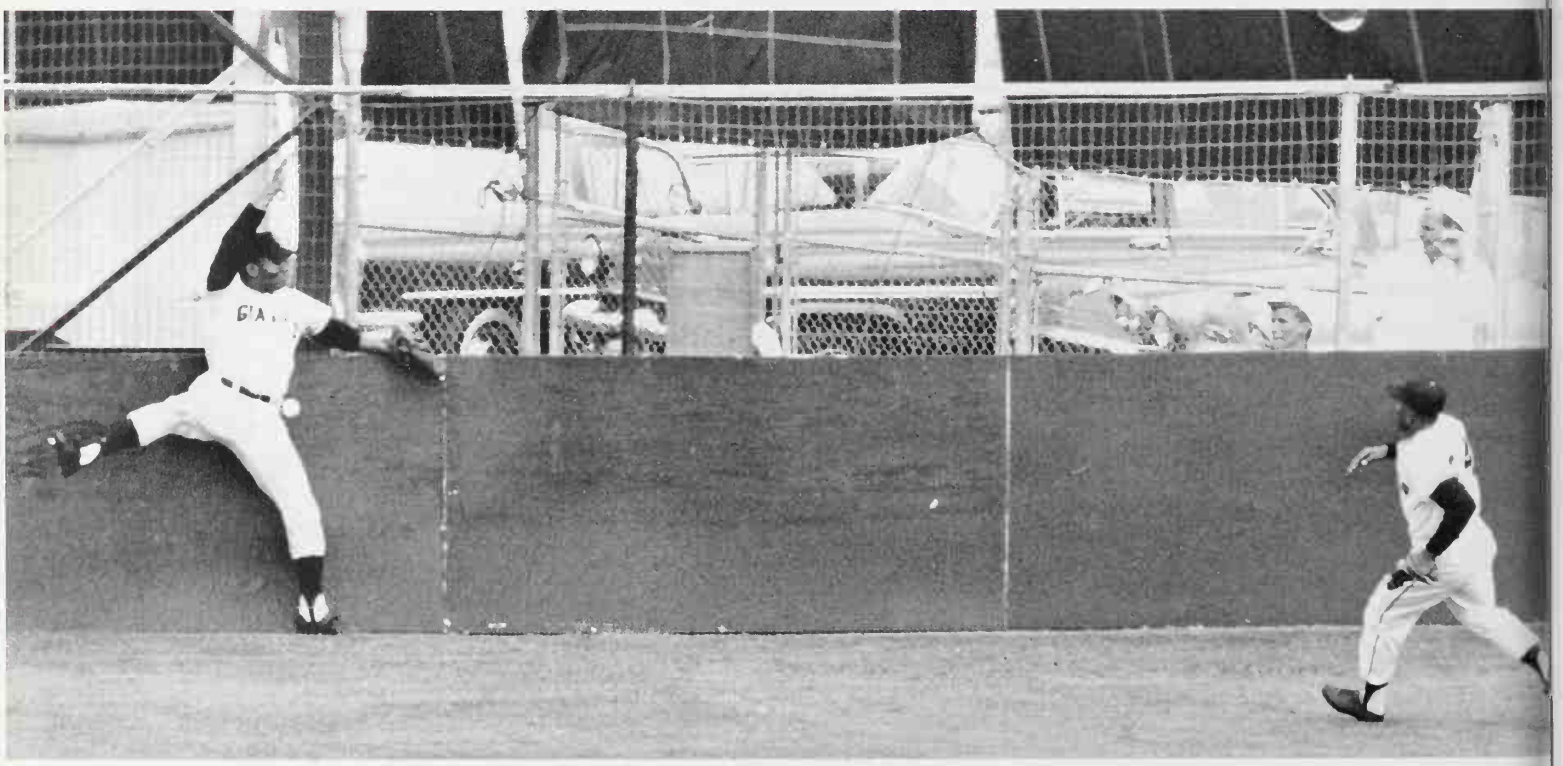
For the Giants, there were other guys besides Rigney with California ties—hardworking pitcher Marv Grissom, who grew up in Red Bluff in the north of the state; sharp-dressing left-hander Mike McCormick, a onetime schoolboy wonder from Alhambra; and grizzled veteran Hank Sauer of Los Angeles. Though they both lived in southern California, neither Sauer nor McCormick had ever been to San Francisco before. The same was true of starting rookie third baseman Jimmy

Davenport, an Alabama native who had never set foot in the city until stepping off the plane from spring training a few days before. The leader of the Giants, Willie Mays, was already a legend in New York for his wondrous play in center field. But his childhood roots were in Alabama too. Playing right field alongside Mays and batting behind him was Willie Kirkland, a Detroit guy who loved to kid around and have fun. Following the two Willies in the batting order was Puerto Rican–born Orlando Cepeda, a rookie first baseman who had earned a spot in the starting lineup with a springtime display of power. Watching him pound away on pitchers in Phoenix, coach Whitey Lockman said to Bill Rigney, "It's too bad he's a year away." The manager looked at him aghast: "A year away from what?" "The Hall of Fame," said Lockman.

The twenty-year-old Cepeda and another rookie on the team, outfielder Felipe Alou, a native of the Dominican Republic, spoke only limited English. But the team, the current manager of the Giants, and league officials would not permit them to speak Spanish in the clubhouse or on the field. In the years to come the National League would, in fact, repeatedly fine Alou for violating this rule. Latin players of this time also labored under a commonly held stereotype—that they were lazy and faked injuries to avoid playing when they did not feel like it. Consequently many played hurt rather than have people think they were slacking off on the job.

Giants owner Horace Stoneham regularly made off-season scouting trips to the Caribbean, and Latin players contributed significantly to the team's early success in San Francisco. Its Opening Day battery was an all-Caribbean one—catcher Valmy Thomas, who learned the game by playing stickball as a kid in the Virgin Islands, and starting pitcher Ruben Gomez, a countryman of Cepeda's from Puerto Rico.

The game was not televised, but fans around the city and state tuned into it on transistor radios. Calling the game for the Giants were veteran



broadcaster Russ Hodges, who had come from New York with the team, and a smooth-voiced radio newcomer from southern California, Lon Simmons. Also on hand was Bob Stevens of the *Chronicle*, a former Coast League beat reporter who had made the step up to the major leagues.

It was one of those days in which baseball was almost secondary to everything else going on around it. Mayor Christopher threw the ceremonial first pitch and Mayor Poulson caught it. After they cleared the field of everyone who did not belong on it, up to the plate stepped Dodger leadoff hitter Gino Cimoli, a sentimental choice because he was a native San Franciscan who grew up in the city and still lived in North Beach. But the sentiment stopped when the game began, and Gomez, who had nasty stuff all day, struck Cimoli out.

After Gomez and the Giants beat the Dodgers, 8 to 0, in the opener, the two teams split the next two games before heading south to do Opening Day all over again. Los Angeles held its welcoming parade for the Dodgers on the morning of April 18. Unlike the Giants, who dressed more formally for their parade, the Dodger players wore their game uniforms and caps, riding through downtown in open-air convertibles and waving to the throngs of fans who stood five or six deep on the sidewalks. Everybody got caught up in the swing of things. At Eighth and Broadway some female May Co. employees dressed up as cheerleaders and waved pennants and cheered. At parade's end the players sat on the steps of city hall and received small gifts from Chicana women in traditional Mexican blouses and long skirts.

The festivities carried over into the afternoon when more than seventy-eight thousand fans poured into the Los Angeles Coliseum, setting a new National League opening day attendance mark. The Dodgers had settled on the cavernous Coliseum as their temporary home, vetoing Wrigley Field as too small and inadequate. But the Coliseum, the home of the 1932 Olympic Games, was primarily a football stadium, and adjustments had to be made to render it suitable for baseball. With the fence in left field a mere 251 feet from home plate and the power alleys in left-center not much farther, workers erected a forty-foot high screen in left to prevent lazy pop flies from becoming home runs.

For the home team, their lineup looked similar in many respects to the great Brooklyn teams of the recent past, with shortstop Pee Wee Reese, steady first baseman Gil Hodges, and strong-armed right fielder Carl Furillo, all holdovers from Ebbets Field days. Another Brooklyn holdover, outfielder Duke Snider, was a Los Angeles native and an all-sports star at Compton High who ran an avocado ranch near Fallbrook north of San Diego in the off-season; the move west was a kind of homecoming for him. Two standouts from the Brooklyn era, however, were missing: second baseman Jackie Robinson, who retired after the '56 season rather than accept a trade to the Giants, and catcher Roy Campanella, the club's inspirational leader who was paralyzed in a car accident only months earlier.

Dodger right-hander Don Drysdale was, like Snider, a Californian who was coming home. The pride of Van Nuys was a big, rangy right-handed pitcher who was good-looking to everybody except the man facing him in the batter's box. His wife then was a Tournament of Roses princess, and a float in the 1959 New Year's Day parade was a recreation of their wedding cake consisting of twenty-eight thousand roses and eight thousand camellias. Drysdale anchored a pitching staff that included stalwarts Johnny Podres, Don

The Giants brought star power and high drama with them to San Francisco. (Left) Leon Wagner, left, Giants' left fielder makes a desperate try to corral Philadelphia catcher Carl Sawatski's long triple to left center in the seventh inning. Willie Mays, right, made the throw in. The Giants pulled out a heart-stopping 8–7 win in the bottom of the ninth of the July 1958 game.

San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

BASEBALL CARDS OF THE PACIFIC COAST LEAGUE

Before the major-league powerhouses landed on the West Coast in 1957, the Pacific Coast League dominated baseball diamonds up and down the coast and throughout the Southwest. Founded in 1903, the Pacific Coast League fielded such teams as the San Francisco Seals, the Los Angeles Angels, and the Salt Lake City Bees. Packaged originally with tobacco products and candies, the cards in the Dick Dobbins Collection at the California Historical Society were the gift of Judy Dobbins, in memory of her husband, one of the Pacific Coast League's greatest collectors and historians. Doug McWilliams assisted with information about the players.

Top Row, Left to Right:
Walter "Judge" McCredie, outfielder, Portland Beavers. McCredie later managed three Pacific Coast League teams and won four pennants between 1906 and 1914.

Frederick "Fritz" Coumbe, infielder, Salt Lake City Bees, 1923–25. Coumbe also played in San Francisco and had a top year in 1925 with 179 hits and a .331 batting average.

Oscar Vitt, infielder, San Francisco Seals. Vitt played for three Pacific Coast League teams, beginning in 1909. He managed the Hollywood Stars to pennant victory in 1930.

Middle Row:
Johnny Beall, infielder, Los Angeles Angels. Beall played in the league in 1912 and then played for the major leagues in Cleveland, Cincinnati, and St. Louis.

Al Hiester, pitcher, Sacramento Solons. San Francisco-born, Hiester appeared in only seven games in his 1910–11 Pacific Coast League career.

Stan Covaleski, pitcher, Portland Beavers. Covaleski became a member of the Baseball Hall of Fame after playing fourteen years in the major leagues. He retired in 1928.

Bottom Row:
John "Jack" Brackenridge, pitcher, Venice Tigers. Brackenridge played five seasons in the Pacific Cast League in Vernon and Venice. This card is from his 1913 season.

George Edward "Duffy" Lewis, outfield, Oakland Oaks. Lewis went on to a highly successful major league career and was considered part of "the best outfield ever" while in Boston from 1910 to 1917. A poem of the day reads:

> *I'd like to be a pitcher*
> *Amid the baseball fight*
> *with Duffy Lewis out in left*
> *and Hooper out in right*
> *with Speaker out in centerfield*
> *and with no fences near*
> *I'd like to pitch upon that club*
> *for sixty cents a year.**

Sam "Wahoo" Crawford, outfield, Los Angeles Angels. Crawford played in the major leagues for Cincinnati and Detroit before joining the Pacific Coast League in 1918; voted into the Baseball Hall of Fame.

*Harry Hooper and "Tris" Speaker. Attributed to an unnamed Boston sportswriter in John Spalding, *Pacific Coast League Stars*, Volume 2 (Manhattan, KS: Ag Press, 1997).

Collection of Dick Dobbins, Baseball Historian, 1902-1999, MS 4031, California Historical Society, Manuscript Collection.

Newcombe, and Carl Erskine, and a promising young left-hander who really was from Brooklyn, having been born there, Sandy Koufax. Rookie John Roseboro was stepping into Campy's big shoes as catcher, and quietly making all the pieces fit together was Walt Alston, the manager.

On the radio, calling the game for the Dodgers in English, was Vin Scully. And at the Coliseum Rene Cardenas showed up to do the same in Spanish. Due to financial constraints at KWKW, he could not accompany the Dodgers to San Francisco, so he stayed in Los Angeles and broadcast re-creations, just as a young Ronald Reagan had done when he was a sportscaster in Iowa. Listening in the KWKW studio to Scully's play-by-play call from Seals Stadium, Cardenas gave his listeners a virtually simultaneous Spanish translation of the game's events. When the series shifted to Los Angeles, Cardenas could at last attend the games personally and call them as he saw them, with his own eyes. In Friday's home opener the Dodgers edged the Giants, 6 to 5, but the visitors came back to take the next two in the series. Cardenas called these games as he did all season long—broadcasting live and in person when they were home and doing re-creations when the Dodgers were on the road. They were the first Spanish-language broadcasts of major league baseball in America, an idea since copied by many teams.

After the flurry of excitement over Opening Day passed, the focus in Los Angeles shifted to the increasingly contentious fight over the future of Chavez Ravine and whether the Dodgers should be allowed to build a ballpark there. The previous December opponents had gathered enough signatures to put the issue on the June 3, 1958, ballot. Opinion polls on the referendum, known as Proposition B, substantially favored the Dodgers in the early months. By spring, however, public sentiment had turned against them, with a slight majority opposed to the ballpark development, and the rhetoric heated up on both sides.

Prop B supporters claimed that if the measure did not pass and the park was not built, the city could lose the team. A "Yea on Baseball" citizens committee, chaired by comedian and baseball supporter Joe E. Brown, sought to stop the slide in public opinion by emphasizing the importance of keeping the Dodgers and major league baseball in Los Angeles. Although Vin Scully never talked politics or mentioned Prop B in his broadcasts, observers feel that his immediate popularity in Los Angeles made people think positively about the Dodgers, despite their losing season on the field.

Opposition to Proposition B was financed by San Diego Padres owner Arnholt Smith, who feared competition from the major leagues. Apart from this, opponents contended that the city's agreement with the Dodgers was a bad one for Los Angeles and that it was unwise to commit public land and resources for a privately held business. Attention centered on the Mexican American families living at Chavez Ravine who would lose their homes if the plan went forward. Although most of these families accepted buy-outs and left the land, opponents argued it was small change compared to what the Dodgers would make in their new stadium. City leaders replied that the city would earn taxes and other revenue if the site were developed, whereas it currently received next to nothing for a site with only limited commercial potential.

The larger issue in the debate was how Los Angeles viewed itself as a city and what effect, if any, the presence of the Dodgers would have on its civic identity. On the Sunday before the referendum, the Times urged a yes vote, arguing that in a city as spread out as Los Angeles, with so many different kinds of people living in it, the Dodgers served as a common connection for all, a unifier. "Do you, a citizen-voter, want Los Angeles to be a great city, with common interests and the civic unity which gives a great city character?" it asked. Ronald Reagan (in an early foray into politics), Jack Benny, Groucho Marx, and other celebrities spoke on behalf of the measure at a Prop B telethon in the evening.

The next Tuesday Proposition B won the approval of a majority of voters, but that did not end the

controversy. Opponents filed suit to block the agreement, beginning a lengthy legal tussle that reached the California Supreme Court. In January 1959 the court ruled unanimously in favor of the Dodgers and the city, approving the planned use of Chavez Ravine. Opponents nevertheless vowed to carry their fight to the Supreme Court of the United States.

By May the last remaining families at Chavez Ravine had left except for the Arechigas, who refused to go. Local television news stations carried the politically incendiary images of policemen carrying sixty-eight-year-old Avrana Arechiga and other members of her family off the site. Many were outraged. But public opinion quickly reversed itself after it was revealed that the Arechigas owned as many as nine homes in the area while living rent-free at Chavez Ravine, and they had a place to go; one nearby three-bedroom home of theirs was vacant at the time of their eviction.

Despite the continuing controversy over Chavez Ravine, the Dodgers' second season in Los Angeles began on a much brighter note than the first. Leading the National League at the end of April, they hosted a poignant tribute to Roy Campanella in a May exhibition at the Coliseum. The former Negro League and Brooklyn great, who could no longer walk due to the injuries suffered in his accident the year before, appeared in a wheelchair pushed by his former teammate, Pee Wee Reese, who had retired after the last season. During the pre-game ceremonies the entire Coliseum went dark and the 93,103 fans—then the largest crowd to see a major league game—lit candles to symbolize the imperishability of Campanella's spirit.

Before the season the Coliseum's playing dimensions had been made fairer to hitters. Jaime Jarrin, an immigrant from Ecuador pursuing a broadcasting career in this country, joined Rene Cardenas in the booth at KWKW, and both started broadcasting and re-creating games. The Dodgers began to take on a new look too—less Brooklyn, more Los Angeles. Infielder Junior Gilliam and

The Dodgers had their own share of stars. Don Drysdale throws a pitch at Van Nuys High School in 1954. He signed with the Brooklyn Dodgers out of high school but spent most of his baseball career in Los Angeles.

Los Angeles Public Library, *Hollywood Citizen News/Valley Times* Collection

In a 1963 game at Dodger Stadium, pitcher Sandy Koufax throws a pitch in a game against the Cincinnati Reds. The Dodgers won 3–1.

Los Angeles Public Library, *Hollywood Citizen News/Valley Times* Collection

several other Brooklyn carryovers were solid as ever, but new faces such as Ron Fairly, a young outfielder from USC, and future stolen-base king Maury Wills, were starting to emerge as well. (Outfield speedsters Tommy Davis and Willie Davis would make their mark in coming years for the Dodgers.) Don Drysdale, then the team's No. 1 starter, had turned things around after a bad season, and Sandy Koufax was beginning to show people why Drysdale would soon become the No. 2 starter. And then there was that July call-up from the minor leagues, pitcher Larry Sherry, an all-everything from Fairfax High in Los Angeles who had suddenly, and mysteriously, become unhittable.

The 1959 season was the first knock-down, drag-out pennant race between the Los Angeles Dodgers and the San Francisco Giants, the first in a continuing series. The Giants had taken a similar turn as their rivals, becoming less New York and more San Francisco with the addition of rookie Willie McCovey, a tall, lanky first baseman with thunder in his bat. In his first major league game McCovey went four for four with two triples. "He walked into Seals Stadium a rookie," said Chronicle sportswriter Bob Stevens, "and he walked out owning it." McCovey joined fellow future Hall of Famers Mays and Cepeda—two more Giants Hall of Famers, pitchers Juan Marichal and Gaylord Perry, had yet to arrive—to push San Francisco into first place in late September with only five games to go. But the Dodgers, boasting their own contingent of future Cooperstown residents—Alston, Snider, Koufax, Drysdale—pushed back harder, sweeping the Giants in a three-game series at Seals Stadium. The Dodgers finished in a first-place tie with Milwaukee and won the National League pennant after beating the Braves in a playoff.

The Dodgers and the American League champion Chicago White Sox split the first two games of the World Series in Chicago. When the Dodgers won Game 3 at the Coliseum, the first World Series game ever held in California, 92,394 fans set a single-game Series attendance record. For Game 4, another Dodgers win, 92,650 turned out to break the attendance record set the previous day. In Game 5, the Coliseum somehow found room for more bodies and set its third record in three days; the attendance of 92,706 is still the benchmark for a Series game. But Koufax lost a nail-biter, 1 to 0, and Dodger fans uneasily watched as the series shifted back to Chicago.

Los Angeles took the drama out of the sixth game by jumping up 8 to 0 in the top of the fourth inning, but when the White Sox scored three runs and threatened to put the drama back in, the Dodgers summoned Larry Sherry from the bullpen and the champagne corks were as good as popped. Sherry, who won two games and saved two others in the Series, shut the White Sox down the rest of the way to bring Los Angeles its first world championship. As followers of the Dodger blue rejoiced, their rivals in the north of the state, pledging fealty to the orange and black, grumbled in their beers and vowed revenge next season.

Less than two weeks after the Series, the United States Supreme Court dismissed the final appeals of Proposition B opponents, clearing the way for the construction of Dodger Stadium at Chavez Ravine.

This essay is reprinted with permission from *The Golden Game: The Story of California Baseball*, published by Heyday Books and the California Historical Society. Kevin Nelson has written fifteen books and numerous articles about sports. Nelson spent three years researching and writing *The Golden Game*, including a considerable amount of time studying the Dick Dobbins collection of Pacific Coast League photographs and other archival material at the California Historical Society in San Francisco. He lives in the Bay Area.

NOTES

ANSEL ADAMS' *EUCALYPTUS TREE, FORT ROSS*: NATURE, PHOTOGRAPHY, AND THE SEARCH FOR CALIFORNIA, PP10-25

Thanks to Alexander Nemerov, the "Sense of Place" course, Writing History at Yale, and the anonymous reviewers.

[1]Quotes are from Ansel Adams and Mary Street Alinder, *Ansel Adams, an Autobiography* (Boston: Little Brown, 1985), 232. The exhibition catalog is Ansel Adams and Edwin Herbert Land, *Singular Images* (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Morgan & Morgan, 1974). *Eucalyptus Tree, Fort Ross, California* is Plate 52.

[2]On Fort Ross, Robin Joy, Heidi Horvitz, and Park Rangers, *Fort Ross State Historic Park Russian Colony* ([cited March and April 2003]); available from http://www.mcn.org/ 1/ rrparks/ fortross/; Robert A. Thompson, *The Russian Settlement in California Known as Fort Ross; Founded 1812, Abandoned 1841. Why the Russians Came and Why They Left* (Santa Rosa: Sonoma Democrat Publishing Company, 1896), 7. On Adams's early fame, Andrea Gray Stillman, *Ansel Adams: An American Place*, 1936 (Tucson: Center for Creative Photography University of Arizona, 1982). For the connections in personnel, timing and in Adams's mind, see Adams and Alinder, *Ansel Adams, an Autobiography*, 232.

A good account of the relationship between Ansel Adams and Group f/64, in style and politics, is Sally Stein, "On Location: The Placement (and Replacement) of California in 1930s Photography," in *Reading California: Art, Image, and Identity, 1900-2000*, ed. Stephanie Barron, Sheri Bernstein, and Ilene Susan Fort (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

[3]Martin Berger, "White Sight: Race in American Visual Culture," New Haven: History of Art Department, Yale University, November 13, 2003.

[4]For quote, see Stein, "On Location," 177. For California generally, see Howard N. Fox, "Tremors in Paradise 1960-1980," in *Reading California: Art, Image, and Identity, 1900-2000*, ed. Stephanie Barron, Sheri Bernstein, and Ilene Susan Fort (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 193-202.

On such "failures" and the meaning ensconced in silences, see Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "Indirect Language and the Voices of Silence," in *The Merleau-Ponty Aesthetics Reader: Philosophy and Painting*, ed. Galen A. Johnson (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1993), 81-84, 116-120. Merleau-Ponty wants to exclude photographs from comparison with paintings, but the language he chooses to do so—"Cézanne wanted to paint this primordial world, and his pictures therefore seem to show nature pure, while photographs of the same landscapes suggest man's works, conveniences, and imminent presence"—plays directly into my argument here. Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "Cézanne's Doubt," in *The Merleau-Ponty Aesthetics Reader: Philosophy and Painting*, ed. Galen A. Johnson (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1993), 64.

[5]Quotes from Adams are from Adams and Alinder, *Ansel Adams, an Autobiography*, 235, 234. "Gentle Crusader" is from Jim Wood, "The Gentle Crusader: Ansel Adams," *Historic Preservation* 33, no. 1 (January-February 1981): 32-39.

In San Francisco, Russian-born leftist Anton Refregier's murals of Chinese workers, labor difficulties, Soviets signing the U.N. charter—and the Russian Fort Ross—covered the walls of the Rincon Annex Post Office. The murals were a target of McCarthyists and U.S. Senators called for their removal. They remain in the building today. The best account of the Refregier controversy is in Jane de Hart Mathews, "Art and Politics in Cold War America," *American Historical Review* 81, no. 4 (October, 1976): 763-768. It is also discussed in Susan Landauer, *The San Francisco School of Abstract Expressionism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 215, n. 268, Harriet Senie and Sally Webster, eds., *Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context, and Controversy* (New York: Icon Editions, 1992), 145. The current status of these murals is discussed at http:// www. - page-turnbull.com/organization/ projects/ comm/rincon/rincon.html.

[6]A key expert on notions of place is Yi-Fu Tuan, whose *Topophilia* and *Space and Place* are touchstones for this essay. Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1974). Kent Ryden has described place as "grounded history," with "experience fuse[d] to terrain. events constantly recurring and always present." Kent C. Ryden, *Mapping the Invisible Landscape: Folklore, Writing, and the Sense of Place* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1993), 243, quoted in Janice Simon, "Images of Contentment: John Frederick Kensett and the Connecticut Shore," in *Images of Contentment: John Frederick Kensett and the Connecticut Shore*, ed. Janice Simon and Amy Y. Smith (Waterbury, CT: The Mattatuck Museum, 2001), 33. Simon draws from both Ryden and Tuan's arguements that the viewer as well as the artist must have the phenomenological experience to make art speak of a sense of place: "Place demands human engagement, of perception, though [sic] emotion, and even, imagination, for it to be realized." Simon, "Images of Content-ment," 33. Simon's article is one of the most successful efforts to grapple with the sense of place in art.

[7]The author was a fourth-grader in San Diego and learned about Fort Ross; the current social studies curriculum also requires students to "Identify the locations of Mexican settlements in California and those of other settlements, including Fort Ross and Sutter's Fort." See the state Grade Four History-Social Science Content Standards, http:// www.cde.ca.gov/standards/history/grade4. html. Accessed May, 2003.

For the Pomo people and the interconnected crossroads of Fort Ross generally, see James Clifford, "Fort Ross Meditation," in *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 299-347. Quote is from p. 303. Thanks to Aaron Sachs for pointing out this source.

[8]Clifford, 304-310, 323-324; Joy, Horvitz, and Rangers, *Fort Ross State Historic Park Russian Colony*; Thompson, *The Russian Settlement in California Known as Fort Ross; Founded 1812, Abandoned 1841. Why the Russians Came and Why They Left*, 5-22.

[9]A good overview of this period in California history is Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher, *The American West: A New Interpretive History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 234-251.

[10]The *Sequoia* genus has three varieties: the coastal redwood (*Sequoia sempervirens*), the giant redwood (*Sequoiadendron gigantea*) and the dawn redwood (*Metasequoia glyptostroboides*) in China. The trees were nick-

named "seqouyahs" by Union soldiers who had recently been capturing Native American lands, either through violence or coercion, as in the case of Sequoyah's people, the Cherokees. This misuse was adopted unthinkingly by nineteenth century scientists. Instead of calling the largest species sequoias, as they are often known, I will generally call them giant redwoods, but will I retain references to sequoias in quotations. Etymology from entry in *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*, 1987.

[11]Scholarship that grapples with the connections between the art and the times of gold-rush California includes Nancy K. Anderson, "'The Kiss of Enterprise': The Western Landscape as Symbol and Resource," in *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820-1920*, ed. William H. Truettner and Nancy K. Anderson (Washington, DC: National Museum of American Art-Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991); William H. Goetzmann and William N. Goetzmann, *The West of the Imagination* (New York: Norton, 1986), especially 124-182, Martha A. Sandweiss, *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), especially 121-155.

The claim about San Francisco is made by Peter Bacon Hales, *Silver Cities, the Photography of American Urbanization, 1839-1915* (Philadelphia, 1984), 49-50, quoted in Goetzmann and Goetzmann, *The West of the Imagination*, 138.

[12]The best volume on Carleton Watkins is Peter E. Palmquist, *Carleton E. Watkins, Photographer of the American West* (Albuquerque: Amon Carter Museum-University of New Mexico Press, 1983). For a discussion of Watkins' influence see Thomas Weston Fels, *Carleton Watkins, Photographer: Yosemite and Mariposa Views from the Collection of the Park Mccullough House, North Bennington, Vermont, June 11-September 5, 1983* (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1983). For a Watkins chronology and a broader view, see Anderson, "The Kiss of Enterprise," 271-276; Thomas Weston Fels, "Visualizing California: Early Photography, 1849-1890," in *Watkins to Weston: 101 Years of California Photography, 1849-1950*, ed. Thomas Weston Fels, Therese Thau Heyman, and David Travis (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art-Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1992), 17-22, 34.

An overview of the painting and photography of the giant redwoods is provided by Jed Perl, "The Vertical Landscape: 'In the Redwood Forest Dense'," *Art in America* 64, no. 1 (January-February 1976). Perl discusses the novelty of the view one was required to take of the giant redwoods, and of various strategies to capture the trees. Tim Flannery considers the attraction of superlative trees ("oldest," "tallest") in Tim Flannery, "The Secrets of Methuselah Grove," *New York Review of Books* March 13, 2003.

[13]Anderson, "The Kiss of Enterprise," 271-272; Perl, "The Vertical Landscape: 'In the Redwood Forest Dense'," 60-61.

[14]For information on Clark's remarkable contribution to Yosemite, see Shirley Sargent, *Galen Clark, Yosemite Guardian* (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1964). Sargent states that Clark named the grove, but does not emphasize that he did not coin the use of the Spanish *mariposa*. He simply borrowed from the name of the county in which the grove was situated and the name of the trail they were on. See Sargent, 60-61. On the timing of the Alice stories and the writing, see the introductory material to, for example, Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking-Glass* (1864; rpt., Signet Classics 2000).

[15]Anderson, "The Kiss of Enterprise," 271. For more on Bierstadt and Ludlow's trip, see Ralph A. Britsch, *Bierstadt and Ludlow: Painter and Writer in the West* ([Provo]: Brigham Young University, 1980). On the exhibition organized by Ansel Adams, see Fels, "Visualizing California: Early Photography, 1849-1890," 119. Watkins' late work is described in Claire Perry, "Cornucopia of the World," in *Pacific Arcadia: Images of California, 1600-1915*, ed. Claire Perry (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 88-90.

[16]There is some debate over who first brought the eucalyptus to California, but it is clear it happened sometime in the 1850s. For the opinions of various scholars, see Robin W. Doughty, *The Eucalyptus: A Natural and Commercial History of the Gum Tree* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000) 66-67; Claire Shaver Haughton, *Green Immigrants: The Plants That Transformed America* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), 118; Kenneth Thompson, "The Australian Fever Tree in California: Eucalypts and Malaria Prophylaxis," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 60, no. 2 (June 1970): 234; Ian R. Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods: Californian-Australian Environmental Reform, 1860-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 58.

"Eucalyptus" comes from the Greek for "well-covered," referring to the buds, a name given it by French botanist Charles-Louis L'Héritier de Brutelle. On the etymology and exploration in Australia, see Haughton, *Green Immigrants*, 114.

[17]For an excellent account, Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods*, 56-87. The quote from Marsh comes from the posthumous 1885 edition of *Man and Nature*, 325; quoted in Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods*, 25.

For the plural of "eucalyptus"—which itself is a genus, and so at times can stand in for the plural—I have chosen to use the European "eucalypts," rather than the more common American "eucalypti."

[18]On Call and the tree, see Joy, Horvitz, and Rangers, *Fort Ross State Historic Park Russian Colony*. The history of these specific trees was confirmed in phone conversations and e-mail with Lyn Kalani, of the Fort Ross Interpretive Association, on March 31 and April 1, 2003. See also the discussion of the "Russian Orchard" and the mention of eucalypts at Fort Ross in Clifford, 299-304. On Burbank, see "Fort Ross State Historic Park," (California State Department of Parks and Recreation, July, 1993); Joy, Horvitz, and Rangers, *Fort Ross State Historic Park Russian Colony*; Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods* 207.

[19]Joy, Horvitz, and Rangers, *Fort Ross State Historic Park Russian Colony*.

[20]On the notable tree, phone conversations and email with Lyn Kalani, of the Fort Ross Interpretive Association, on March 31 and April 1, 2003. The eucalypts figure prominently in contemporary pictures of Fort Ross; see, for example, the photographs of park ranger Dan Murley at the "Fort Ross State Historic Park" website.

On the eucalyptus' reach, Doughty, *The Eucalyptus: A Natural and Commercial History* 85-95. Tyrrell notes that, despite the rise and fall of the acclimatizers, the ornamental pull of the eucalyptus remained steady; Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods*, 14, 59, 82. California was promoted widely as an Edenic paradise, from fruit cartons to the

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state's exhibits at world fairs. See Perry, "Cornucopia of the World."

[21]Joy, Horvitz, and Rangers, *Fort Ross State Historic Park Russian Colony*. For Rodolph's photographs, see the eleven Fort Ross photographs in the *Frank B. Rodolph Photograph Collection*, BANC PIC 1905.17151, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Eight of the images are available online at http://www.oac.cdlib.org/ findaid/ark:/13030/tf7s2010k4. Thanks to Kathy Talley-Jones for this reference. For an amateur photograph, see one taken July 11, 1999 by Elena Emelyanova, a Russian schoolteacher, on the "Irkutsk-Fort Ross Club" website, at http://ifrc.irk.ru/ usa99/photos/071111.jpg Accessed March, 2003.

James Clifford, in his book linking travel to the roots/routes of culture—whether pilgrimage, tourism, exploration, or immigration—saw Fort Ross and its region, known as Métini in the local Kashaya Pomo language, as a uniquely qualified rupture in traditional stories. "Pried out of the continuum of a triumphal (or tragic) American History, the moment of "Fort Ross' offers strands of historical contingency," Clifford wrote. "In its entwined stories I glimpse the rise and fall of empires, the historical shallowness of U.S. American hegemony, the perseverance and renewal of native peoples, the unfinished relations of north and south in the continent, the ongoing Asian influence in North Pacific history." On Clifford's wide sense of travel, p. 11; quote is from p. 343.

[22]Doughty, *The Eucalyptus: A Natural and Commercial History*, 68-74, 89-95; Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods*, 56-71. Quote is from H. M. Butterfield, "Introduction of Eucalyptus into California," *Madrono: A West American Journal of Botany* 3 (October 1935), 152, quoted in Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods*, 83.

[23]Richard W. Amero, "San Diego Invites the World to Balboa Park a Second Time," *The Journal of San Diego History* 31.4 (Fall 1985), chapter 1; http://www.sandiegohistory.org/calpac/35expo99.htm Accessed March 2003. Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods*, 83. San Diego, with its natural harbor, hoped to show up its rival, Los Angeles, who had to construct its own. General information about the progression of fairs in Balboa Park drawn from the author's native knowledge of San Diego, as well as Virginia Butterfield, "Born-Again Balboa Park," *San Diego Magazine* 48.12 (December 1996), begins p. 110; http://-www.sandiego-online.com/issues/december-96/balboa.shtml Accessed March, 2003. An incredible resource on the history of Balboa Park is the clippings archive of Richard Amero, housed at the San Diego Historical Society.

[24]Amero, "San Diego Invites the World to Balboa Park a Second Time," especially chapters 3 and 7. For the Tower to the Sun pavilion and the Fair map, Larry and Jane Booth, "Do You Want an Exposition? San Diego's 1935 Fair in Photographs," *The Journal of San Diego History* 31.4 (Fall 1985), http://www.sandiegohistory.org/calpac/35expo12.htm Accessed March 2003. Most of the water spaces from the fair were turned into parking lots, while most of the industry buildings are extant, if used for different purposes. The national cottages maintain their original purpose. The Ford pavilion is now the San Diego Aeronautics and Space Museum, and the "Roads of the Pacific" were integrated into the off-ramps and on-ramps of California Highway 163, the "Cabrillo Parkway."

The photomural was Ansel Adams' first, but led to a Depression-era series of such works, which recall the panoramas of Watkins and Muybridge. For more on these projects, in the 1930s and later in 1941 for the Department of the Interior, see Adams and Alinder, *Ansel Adams, an Autobiography*, 187-189, 271.

[25]Merle Armitage, in the *West Coaster*, June 15, 1928, 24, quoted in Nancy Dustin Wall Moure, "Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, and the Eucalyptus School in Southern California," in *Plein Air Painters of California, the Southland*, ed. Ruth Lilly Westphal and Terry DeLapp (Irvine: Westphal, 1982), 11-12. Moure notes the original read "creature" instead of "creative," but deems it a typographical error. Capital letter was silently lowered.

[26]For a consideration of California Impressionism, *plein air* painters, and the "Eucalyptus School," see Susan Landauer, Donald D. Keyes, and Jean Stern, *California Impressionists* (Irvine: Irvine Museum, 1996); Moure, "Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, and the Eucalyptus School;" Will South and William H. Gerdts, *California Impressionism* (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1998). For the definition of terminology, see South and Gerdts, *California Impressionism*, 89. For the connections to other Regionalist movements in the United States and the ties to Europe, see Deborah Epstein Solon and Will South, *In and Out of California: Travels of American Impressionists* (Laguna Beach: Laguna Art Museum, 2002).

For the importance of capturing light in nature to California Impressionists, see Jean Stern, "Masters of Light," in Jean Stern and William H. Gerdts, *Masters of Light: Plein-Air Painting in California 1890-1930* (Irvine: Irvine Museum, 2002), 24.

[27]Quotes are from Fred S. Hogue, "The Art of Edward Alwyn Payne," *Los Angeles Sunday Times*, May 23, 1926, quoted in Susan Landauer, "Impressionism's Indian Summer: The Culture and Consumption of California *Plein-Air* Painting," in Landauer, Keyes, and Stern, *California Impressionists*, 43; and South and Gerdts, *California Impressionism*, 240. On the shunning of Yosemite, Tamalpais and other established California icons, see William H. Gerdts, "The Land of Sunshine," in *Masters of Light: Plein-Air Painting in California 1890-1930*, ed. Jean Stern and William H. Gerdts (Irvine: Irvine Museum, 2002), 35. On the decline, see Gerdts, "The Land of Sunshine," 66; South and Gerdts, *California Impressionism*, 240-243. On the rise of Modernism in Californian painting, see Ruth Lilly Westphal and Janet B. Dominik, *American Scene Painting: California, 1930s and 1940s* (Irvine: Westphal Publishers, 1991). Marion Kavanagh Wachtel is often cited in relation to Armitage's snipe; see Gerdts, "The Land of Sunshine," 37.

[28]*Brimming Cup of Summer* is the best of a number of similar paintings of eucalyptus skirting a body of water; see for example, William Wendt's 1914 painting *Serenity*, which also carries an allegorical title, in South and Gerdts, *California Impressionism*, 130. On Puthuff's art and legacy, see the references in Gerdts, "The Land of Sunshine," 69 n. 24.

[29]The suggestion that Ansel Adams was "burned out" is his own; see the summary in Allison N. Kemmerer, "Reinventing the West," in Adam D. Weinberg, et al, *Reinventing the West: The Photographs of Ansel Adams and Robert Adams* (Andover, Mass.: Addison Gallery of American Art Phillips Academy, 2001), 21 n. 14, which refers to Adams and Alinder, *Ansel Adams, an Autobiography*. Biographers point to the fallout over Sierra

Club politics and the changing winds of the late 1960s—along with age—for Adams' world-weary attitude behind the camera at this time. See Jonathan Spaulding, *Ansel Adams and the American Landscape: A Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 327-349.

Similar changes afoot in California art, "redefining the relationship between people and nature," as automobiles, the sinister side of marketing, and other counterculture trends highlighted a sense of "encroachment." See Fox, "Tremors in Paradise 1960-1980," especially 193-202. For Ansel Adams' images, see the exhibition catalog, Adams and Land, *Singular Images*.

[30]*The Argonaut*, April 22, 1877, p. 4, quoted in full in Thompson, "The Australian Fever Tree in California: Eucalypts and Malaria Prophylaxis," 243. The article is also quoted in Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods*, 68.

[31]Ted Williams, "America's Largest Weed," *Audubon* January-February, 2002, 26. Even in the first generations of the eucalyptus in California, some citrus growers learned these lessons when they noticed their trees were losing water to their eucalyptus windbreaks. They ripped out the interlopers and planted native trees instead. Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods*, 68.

[32]Williams, "America's Largest Weed," 24, 30.

[33]Patricia Leigh Brown, "By the Bay, Ancient Dunes Fight Exotic Trees," *New York Times*, March 9, 2003. Williams describes how, in 1996, once the eucalyptus trees had been removed, the California Department of Parks and Recreation received angry phone calls, asking how a building had been constructed on Angel Island without a formal hearing for those with sensitive bay views. The department patiently explained that the building had been built in 1904 as an Army hospital, and had been hidden away by the eucalypts for nearly a century. Williams, "America's Largest Weed," 30-31.

[34]Williams, "America's Largest Weed," 28, 30. Leland Yee is quoted in Brown, "By the Bay, Ancient Dunes Fight Exotic Trees," A1.

A calmer voice calls for balance: commenting on the Presidio, Robert Z. Melnick of Eugene, OR, wrote that it "represents an essential conflict between two legitimate sets of values: the continuity of place, on one hand, and the protection of fragile ecological systems, on the other. These values do not necessarily have to be in conflict." Letters, *New York Times*, March 12, 2003, p. 24.

[35]Quote is from Williams, "America's Largest Weed," 26. On Adams's wilderness activism, see Adams' article from the period, "A Naturalist's Plea: The Conservation of Man," *AIA Journal* 45.6 (June 1966): 68-74. The pamphlets of the Save-the-Redwoods League had always melded the iconography of Watkins and Adams in order to suggest an eternal space, while warning it was almost too late; see *Saving the Redwoods* pamphlets and *Bulletin*, (Berkeley, Calif: Save-the-Redwoods League, 1941-1951). These activities are chronicled in Spaulding, *Ansel Adams and the American Landscape*, 334.

[36]Mike Davis, *Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1998); John A. McPhee, *The Control of Nature* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1989). William Cronon, "Introduction: In Search of Nature," and "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature" in *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*, William Cronon, ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1995). Quote is from p. 25. For Butterfly's account, see Julia "Butterfly" Hill, *The Legacy of Luna: The Story of a Tree, a Woman, and the Struggle to Save the Redwoods* ([San Francisco]: Harper San Francisco, 2000). On the butterflies, Williams, "America's Largest Weed," 28.

[37]"'Nature' is not as natural" is from Cronon, "Introduction," 25; "Far from being the one place" is from Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness," 69. Earlier works on this theme include Rebecca Solnit, *Savage Dreams: A Journey into the Hidden Wars of the American West* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1994); Emmet Gowin, and Jock Reynolds, et al. *Emmet Gowin: Changing the Earth: Aerial Photographs* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Art Gallery-Corcoran Gallery of Art-Yale University Press, 2002); Mark Klett, et al. *Second View: The Rephotographic Survey Project* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984). When considering such messages in art, the poetry of Thomas Bolt is also relevant. Thomas Bolt, *Out of the Woods* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

The grooming of nature in national parks is examined in Mary Sayre Haverstock, "Can Nature Imitate Art?" *Art in America* 54.1 (January-February, 1966): 73-81.

[38]The case is made in Lawrence Buell, *The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1995). Janice Simon advocates this connection, comparing Buell's account of Thoreau's "responsiveness to nature as a presence" to Kensett's development of an "ecocentric view" in his Contentment Island paintings, where "natural and human histories are inextricably implicated." Simon, "Images of Contentment," 34-35.

MARMORATA: THE FAMED MUD TURTLE OF THE SAN FRANCISCO MARKET, PP 26-42

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[1]Scientific: Dan C. Holland, "The Western Pond Turtle: Habitat and History. Final Report," U.S. Department of Energy, Bonneville Power Administration (1994): section 2, page 13; Dan C. Holland, "Synopsis of the Ecology of the Western Pond Turtle, *Clemmys marmorata*," *Report to U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service*, National Ecology Research Center (Fort Collins, CO: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 1989): 13-14. Historic: Andrew Rolle, "Turbulent Waters: Navigation and California's Southern Central Valley," *California History* no. 2 (1996): 135; Gerald Haslam, "The Lake That Will Not Die," *California History* no. 3 (1993): 263, 271. Popular: Mentioned briefly in Edward Hume, Mean Justice (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999), 18.

[2]Throughout California, the only other native turtle is the Sonoran mud turtle (*Kinosternon sonoriense*), constrained to the southeastern corner of California along the Lower Colorado River; Carl H. Ernst, Jeffrey E. Lovich, and Roger W. Barbour, *Turtles of the United States and Canada* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1994), 191.

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[3]L. M. Seeliger, "Variation in the Pacific Mud Turtle," *Copeia* 3 (1945): 150-159; A third potential subspecies from the Columbia Gorge in Oregon has been reported, but as yet remains undescribed; Dan C. Holland, "Level and Pattern in Morphological Variation: A Phylogeographic Study of the Western Pond Turtle *Clemmys marmorata* in Oregon" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1992), 123..

[4]Seeliger, 158.

[5]W.N. Lockington, "Zoology: Notes on Some Reptiles and Batrachia of the Pacific Coast," *American Naturalist* no. 12 (1879): 781.

[6]Holland, "Level and Pattern," 1-24.

[7]Spencer F. Baird and Charles Girard, "Descriptions of New Species of Reptiles, Collected by the U.S. Exploring Expedition Under the Command of Capt. Charles Wilkes, U.S.N. First Part. - Including the species from the Western coast of America," *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia 6* (1852): 177.

[8]Edward Hallowell, "Report of Explorations in California for Railroad Routes to Connect with the Routes near the 35th and 32nd Parallels of North Latitude; Zoological Report, Report Upon Reptiles of the Route," vol. X, part IV, no. 1 (1859) in *Reports of explorations and surveys, to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, Charles Wilkes (Washington, DC: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1856-1860): 3. Another specimen of *Emys nigra* was also apparently collected from San Francisco; Elmer Charles Herber, *Correspondence Between Spencer Fullerton Baird and Louis Agassiz - Two Pioneer American Naturalists* (Washington, DC: The Smithsonian Institution, 1963), 131.

[9]Herber, *Correspondence*, 131.

[10]Louis Agassiz, *Contributions to the Natural History of the United States of America*, first monograph, vol. I & II, part III, *Embryology of the Turtle; with Thirty-four Plates* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1857), Plate III.

[11]Alexander Strauch, *Chelonologische Studien, mit Besonderer Beziehungauf die Schildkrötensammlung der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg*, Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, Série 7, Tome 5, No 7 (1862), 108-117.

[12]John Edward Gray, *Supplement to the Catalogue of Shield Reptiles in the Collection of the British Museum. Part I. Testudinata (Tortoises) with Figures of the Skulls of 36 Genera* (London, 1870), 27.

[13]Edward D. Cope, *Check-list of the North American Batrachia and Reptilia; with a Systematic List of the Higher Groups, and an Essay on Geographical Distribution Based on the Specimens Contained in the U.S. National Museum* (Washington, DC: Government Print-ing Office, 1875), 55.

[14]John Van Denburgh, "The Reptiles of the Pacific Coast and Great Basin - An Account of the Species Known to Inhabit California, and Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Nevada," *Occasional Papers of the California Academy of Sciences* 5 (1897): 29-30.

[15]William J. Wallace, "Southern Valley Yokuts," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 8, *California*, William C. Sturtevant, ed., (Washington. DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 449.

[16]Frank Forrest Latta, *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* (Oildale, CA: Bear State Books, 1949), 149; Thomas Jefferson Mayfield, *Indian Summer: Traditional Life Among the Choi-numne Indians of California's San Joaquin Valley* (Berkeley: Heyday Books and the California Historical Society, 1993).

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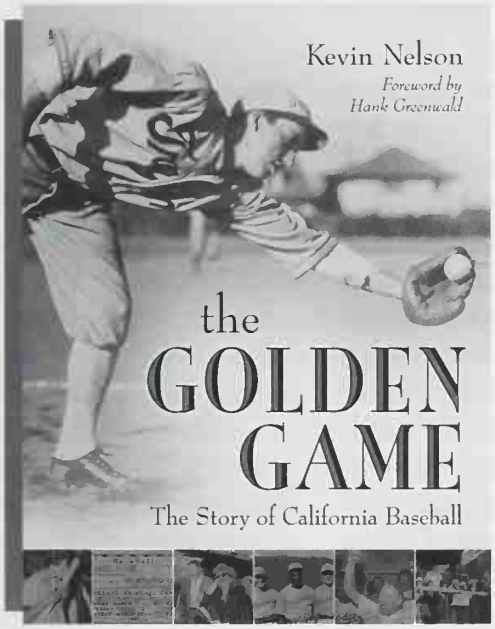

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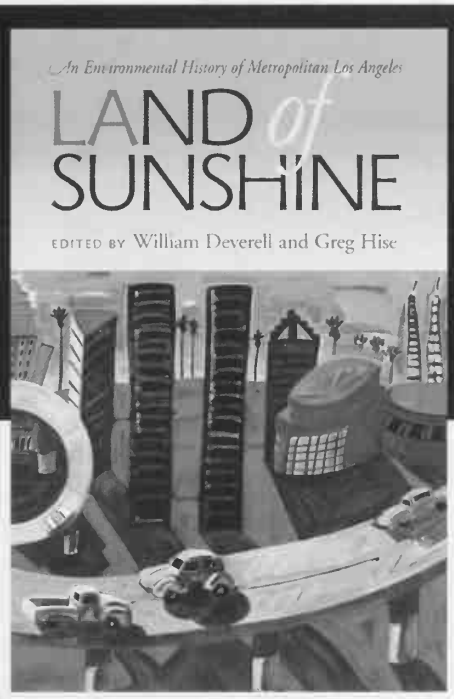

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REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

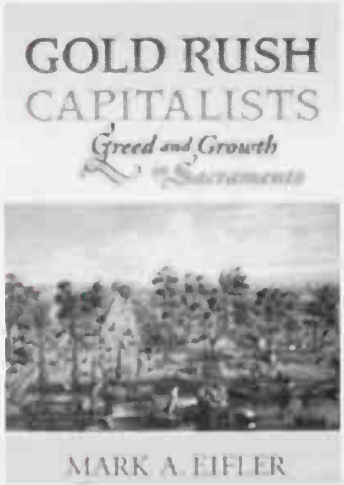
GOLD RUSH CAPITALISTS: GREED AND GROWTH IN SACRAMENTO

By Mark A. Eifler (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002, 280 pp., $39.95 cloth, $19.95 paper)

REVIEWED BY JUDSON GRENIER, EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, DOMINGUEZ HILLS

Throughout modern California history, the city of Sacramento has played a major role in determining the course of development, yet that role has been grossly neglected by historians. Especially important is the city's contribution to the Gold Rush as an entrepot, because it was located midway between San Francisco and the mining areas and served as commercial facilitator between the coast and the interior. Eifler's fine study of the Sacramento area from 1840 through 1851 supplies that missing element.

But it also makes a major contribution to the field of urban history, which normally concentrates on large cities such as New York and Chicago, but in this case examines the growth of a new mid-level community. Eifler believes that commercial interests dictate the establishments of urban settlements whether in the East or on the frontier and seeks to explain why the particular urban order that was Sacramento emerged from the chaos of conflicting interests. In this vein, he adds new perspectives to the vision of urban culture that was propounded by Gunther Barth in *Instant Cities: Urbanization and the Rise of San Francisco and Denver* (1975) and *City People* (1980). Not coincidentally, Barth was chair of Eifler's dissertation committee.



The book is divided into three sections: (1) the founding of Sacramento by speculators; (2) the arrival of miners who challenged the founders; and (3) the rise of a new urban commercial class as the miners became citizens. The narrative is enlivened by incidents that brought the community together or tore it apart, such as massive floods in 1849–1850, land-grant disputes, a "squatters riot" in 1850, a cholera epidemic, and a notorious lynching in early 1851. Each affected the city's maturation. But Eifler also seeks evidence in letters, diaries, minutes of associations, and newspaper accounts, and he devotes a chapter to the culture of the Gold Rush, including its songs and literature, in his search for motivation. The sources for this era of California history are immense because of the thousands of residents and visitors who recorded their impressions.

The opening segment deals with the Sacramento River Valley prior to the arrival of Europeans (the author believes that the Miwok tribe had established a governing structure there, a speculative proposition) and the long career of John Sutter, traditional founder of the city. To me, this was the least rewarding chapter, probably because Sutter's role is the one aspect of Sacramento history that has been rehashed in biography and especially in a compendium of essays edited by Kenneth Owens, *John Sutter and a Wider West* (1994). A fine second chapter details the building of Sacramento by merchant bankers who ruled the city "more from shortsighted daily business competition than from careful considered planning." The most convincing chapter is Eifler's stirring account of the revolt of the Settlers' Association against the Common Council, a defining event in Sacramento history that "took on the aspect of a moral and cultural showdown" and appeared to be a clash between order and anarchy, but was infinitely more complex.

My references to specific chapters are not made casually—each chapter in this book is an essay that can stand alone, which is both a strength and a weakness, in that some go off into material that is tangential to and somewhat distracting from the principal thesis/narrative.

Eifler's great challenge was to determine what finally brought order out of chaos in a frontier city, and this is his major contribution. Given Sacramento's ideal geographic location, land conflicts eventually would have

to be resolved. The conflicts themselves gave rise to weariness in the populace, especially one facing nature's constant havoc. As former miners became merchants, as people pulled together for various causes, and especially when the lynching of Frederick Roe in early 1851 shocked sensibility, ruminations on how to behave became the foundation for community standards that established Sacramento as a viable city. A few years later, machinations and rivalry elsewhere in the state would make it the capital.

THE BAD CITY IN THE GOOD WAR

By Roger W. Lotchin (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003, 314 pp., $49.95 cloth, $19.95 paper)

REVIEWED BY DAVID M. HANSEN, HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER, WASHINGTON STATE PARKS AND RECREATION COMMISSION.

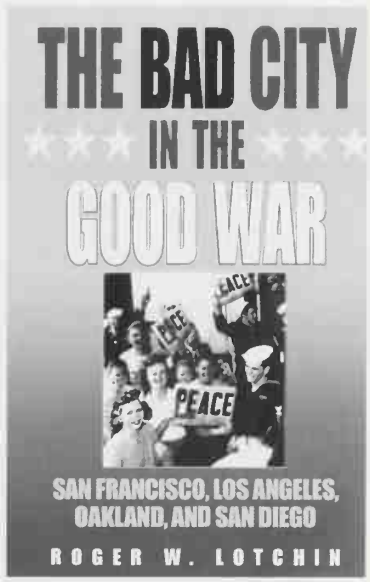
The Good War, as we have all come to understand, is World War II. The Bad City, as Roger W. Lotchin explains it in his most recent book, is in fact the Big City and the Big City is Bad only in the eyes of closet agrarian dreamers. If the Good War did not have the Big City behind it, things would have been very Bad indeed.

The author describes how the war stirs things up in California's major port cities of San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Diego. The home front is well-traveled ground, he notes, yet the study of cities during the conflict has been overlooked. As Lotchin says in his introductory remarks, looking deeply into the experience of these four cities helps bring balance to our understanding of World War II at home, connecting disparate research themes and an earlier emphasis on groups. This is a tall order as it calls for not only good local history, but for local history presented in a way that has meaning in a national context and across a range of topics. His account fills the charge admirably as he presents the advantages inherent in big cities—the "violently aggressive organisms" of California cities in particular—that undergird America at war.

Lotchin begins by describing how the shadow of the distant war comes to fall on the California cities with the arrival of broken ships and broken men, and the reaction of all citizens to come together in a single purpose; it was, as he says, "an extraordinarily participatory conflict." He traces the swelling of the civilian workforce by men and women from beyond the borders of the cities and of California, and of cities that never sleep because supporting the war is as much a 24-hour-a-day operation as the fighting of it. The cities are developed, ready, and able to do the job. They were in fact over-developed, and had what the author describes as "latent military resources": hotels that are empty for half the day, parks that are largely unpopulated except for weekends, and restaurants that fill their tables only for short periods. This was an excess capacity that only large cities could have, and the latent resources of bigness itself numbered among the complex of factors that contributed to the success of the American military.

Here too are the war-time struggles of city politics, the familiar tales of Rosie the Riveter and her miracles of production, and the transforming experience of the war years with the hoped for "Double V" (victory over the Axis abroad, victory over racism at home) of African-Americans that would lead to victory for the nation and a place of respect and prosperity for themselves. Lotchin presents the Double V as a universal goal, not restricted to African-Americans alone but also one successfully sought after by many groups. The war effort yielded to some of the wants of minorities at the same time it assuaged the fears of the defenders of the status quo in "a sophisticated compromise."

Each reader has his or her own expectations, and for me *The Bad City in the Good War* came up short in two areas. The people of the Bad City do not mourn their war dead, and beyond referring to the grieving Gold Star



Mothers, there is little mention in the text of the thousands—perhaps collectively tens of thousands in the four cities of the book—who would never return. Did so few of the author's sources mention the loss of a brother, father, or son and the impact that it must have had on those who were left to carry on?

The second "shortfall" is this: While the author mentions that he covered the subject of urban planning in an article ten years previously, it would have been helpful if he had introduced some of those conclusions into the present work. Cities, and especially big cities, do not spring unbidden from the ground like mushrooms, ready to serve the needs of national defense. Military influence on the development of modern cities is a rich subject, and a brief acknowledgement of that heritage would have provided useful insights. But these are small points, and Roger Lotchin's *The Bad City in the Good War* remains an imaginative and compelling addition to the literature of the homefront.

THE CALIFORNIA GRIZZLY: BEAR IN MIND

Edited by Susan Snyder (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2003, 244 pp., $60 cloth)

REVIEWED BY ALLAN A. SCHOENHERR, PROFESSOR OF ECOLOGY, FULLERTON COLLEGE

California is the only one of our fifty states that has an extinct animal on its flag. This ironic situation began when California was seized from Mexico in 1846 and the colonizers decided to put a bear on their flag. At that time, of course, the California grizzly bear was alive and well. California's official Bear Flag, however, was not adopted until 1911. The bear was placed on the state seal in 1849 and then in 1953, long after it was extirpated, it became the official state mammal. Susan Snyder, by juxtaposing excerpts from published articles, diaries, letters, and a marvelous array of old engravings, lithographs, newspaper clippings, and paintings, including images from early California fruit-crate labels, has threaded together a valuable picture of the role of the grizzly bear in California history.

As an employee of the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Susan Snyder became fascinated by the "seemingly inexhaustible number of pictorial and text portraits" found in the collections of the library. She has, in this remarkable volume, put together a picture of the interactions of people, bears, attitudes, and early history of California when bears were a part of the landscape. The book is packed with images, pictorial and verbal, that celebrate the great bear, and it should be perused by anyone who is interested in California history or the natural history of California's extinct state mammal.

Whether or not the California grizzly is truly a distinct animal, separated taxonomically from other grizzly bears, is complicated by the fact that scientists were unable to preserve a single complete specimen including full data and measurements. Nevertheless, the scientific name *Ursus arctos* is still applied today to the California grizzly along with the extant populations of Alaskan brown bears and grizzly bears that survive in other parts of the United States.

The rapid demise of this animal in California only took about seventy-five years, from a time prior to the Gold Rush, when the estimated number of grizzly bears was about 10,000, to the last known grizzly bear which was spotted in Sequoia National Park in 1924. In the chapter entitled "The Last Grizzlies" we are treated to the personal accounts of famous bears and bear killers, and one whole chapter is devoted to the legendary Grizzly Adams. But the best description of the annihilation process is in the introduction, "Grizzlies were killed for their meat, gallbladders, oil, and sometimes for their pelts. They were hunted out of fear and the need to protect life and property, for sport, for power, and for target practice." The historical significance of new weapons in the relentless slaughter is also well documented: "As adaptable as grizzlies are, their defenses did not increase as new weapons were developed for use against them—strychnine, whaling guns, pendulum traps, liquor-laced bait (and

finally) when the powerful breech-loading 'bone-smasher' rifles were invented, the contest was over."

Snyder does a good job relating bears to the human psyche. This is more a book about people and how they relate to bears, than it is a book about bears. In her final chapter entitled "The Golden Bear" she states, "The romantic and nostalgic citizens of the 1890s bestowed upon the California grizzly everything they considered brave, grand, and noble, even as they continued to kill off the real animal as quickly as firearms and resourcefulness would allow." This chapter portrays images of bears from fierce to cuddly. While on a hunting trip in 1902, big-game hunter Teddy Roosevelt refused to shoot a small black bear after which a New York shopkeeper displayed the first "Teddy Bear," a stuffed bear doll, which even today is one of the most endearing childhood possessions. In contrast, consider the sadistic practice of tying together a bull and a bear until only one remains standing.

In final analysis, *Bear in Mind* is so much more than a book about bears and people. The treatment of grizzly bears by early Californians stands as a metaphor for our attitude about nature in general. As Susan Snyder states it, "Grizzlies epitomized freedom and untamed nature and Californians sought to conquer that wilderness and its lawlessness." Now, fast forward to 2004, think about urban sprawl, and reflect on the words of Joni Mitchell, "Don't it always seem to go that nobody knows what he's got 'till it's gone."

UNFOLDING BEAUTY: CELEBRATING CALIFORNIA'S LANDSCAPES

Edited with an Introduction by Terry Beers (Santa Clara and Berkeley: Santa Clara University and Heyday Books, 2001, 416 pp., $17.95 paper)

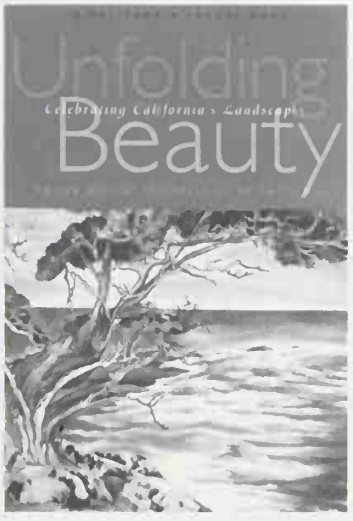
TRACES OF GOLD: CALIFORNIA'S NATURAL RESOURCES AND THE CLAIM TO REALISM IN WESTERN AMERICAN LITERATURE

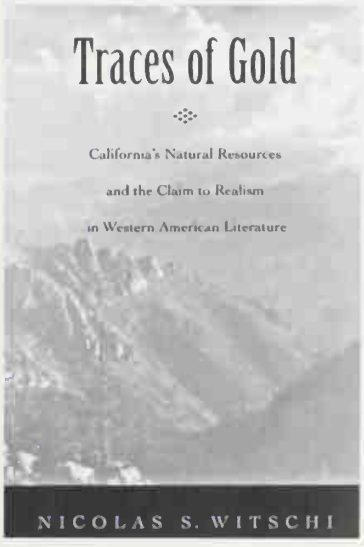
By Nicholas S. Witschi (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002, 218 pp., $39.95 cloth)

REVIEWED BY JOEL W. WESTWOOD, LECTURER WITH THE ENGLISH DEPARTMENT AT CALIFORNIA POLYTECHNIC STATE UNIVERSITY, SAN LUIS OBISPO

Terry Beers's new anthology of writings that celebrate California's diverse landscapes and Nicholas S. Witschi's monograph on realism and Western American literature both may be adopted by university instructors in the next few years; the former is an affordable, portable reader, and the latter is an incisive resource for graduate students of literary realism and Western literature. For general readers or California-history enthusiasts, however, these books are not as useful. Beers's thematic collection lacks the depth of the University of California's planned two-volume anthology, *The Literature of California*, but includes wide-ranging works by representative authors from the state's seven geographical regions.

Professor Beers introduces each section with an overview of the regional landscape's geography, topography, and historical cultural forces. In this way, he establishes both an intellectual and geophysical context from much of what is written within or about the area. For the most part, the sections are of equal length, with each containing fragments from familiar names and works—Stevenson's *The*





REVIEWS

Silverado Squatters, Twain's *Roughing It*, Austin's *The Land of Little Rain*, Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast*—and Beers has nicely complemented the always-included with a healthy dose of the often-overlooked (John Rollin Ridge, Una Jeffers, Gretel Erlich, Jane Hollister Wheelwright, and Wilma Elizabeth McDaniel, to name a few.) The poetry selections from Gary Snyder, Kenneth Rexroth, Charles Bukowski, and William Everson especially evoke a sense of "California-ness" even as their figurative language works through "placeless" themes. From the whole, readers will recognize that California is a place of incredibly diverse landscapes and an expansive terrain that never ceases to amaze. Alas, *Unfolding Beauty* is too thin for what it attempts: Though it might serve as a central, "greatest-hits" resource for undergraduate courses in nature writing of California literature, the text needs supplementing at every turn. The prose selections, for example, are too brief to adequately convey the stylistic and thematic richness of the major writers included.

Witschi's study deftly shows how closely related the literary abstractions of "Western" and "realism" have been since Bret Harte and Mark Twain made California (as the "West") a popular fictional setting. Initially, William Dean Howells's commitment both to realism and to promoting Western writing in the *Atlantic Monthly* promoted a tradition of California-based "realistic" literature. The West, Howells believed, provided the raw materials necessary for realistic literary representation. As Witschi explains, the West was broadly equated with the natural, and since California functioned as a locus for the extraction of natural resources—gold and silver, minerals and oil, water and agricultural products—the stories told about mining, reclamation, and wheat farming have registered as authentic. Witschi does a fine job threading together several writers (Bret Harte, John Muir, Howells, Frank Norris, Mary Austin, and Raymond Chandler) not ordinarily aligned through genre, and his book could amplify background upper-division courses in American realism or Western fiction. Witschi's treatment of Harte, Muir, and Austin is clearer than his analyses of Norris and hard-boiled detective fiction, and the chapter devoted to the year 1902 as "The Generic Imagination in Transition" is unfocused. Moreover, because Witschi relies on theoretical language and concepts, his work requires more than casual reading.

THE TRIAL OF "INDIAN JOE": RACE AND JUSTICE IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY WEST

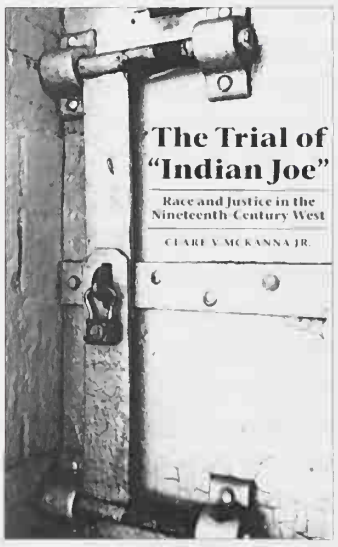
By Clare V. McKanna, Jr. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2003, 143 pp., $35 cloth)

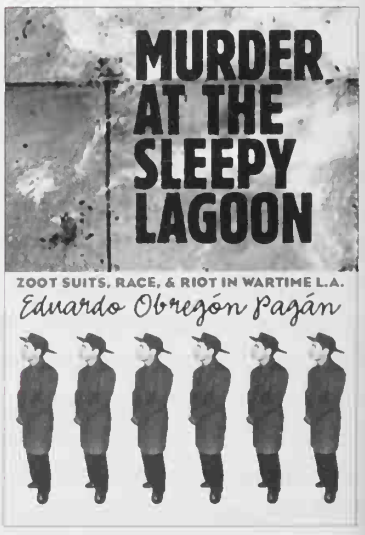
MURDER AT THE SLEEPY LAGOON: ZOOT SUITS, RACE, AND RIOT IN WARTIME L.A.

By Eduardo Obregón Pagán (Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, 2003, 313 pp., $49.95 cloth, $19.95 paper)

REVIEWED BY RICHARD DELGADO, PROFESSOR OF LAW, UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

Dedicated to "the Borjenos, Kumeyaays, and other California Native Americans who suffered in the liminal world, betwixt and between," *The Trial of Indian Joe* tackles no big issue such as "What is race?" or "How did





he legal system come to define white-ness?" Instead it asks whether "Indian Joe," an itinerant day laborer, robbed and killed John and Wilhelmina Geyser, a farmer and his wife, in their home outside San Diego on a Sunday evening in October 1892.

After reviewing all the available evidence, some of which was presented to the jury and some not, McKanna concludes that Indian Joe probably did not murder the Geysers. The real killers were either two other Indians who set Indian Joe up by duping him into showing up at the bloody crime scene just in time to be discovered and arrested, or two other intruders. Building on his own previous work, the author shows how stereotypes of Indian criminality infected his trial, like many others in which Indians were accused of crimes committed against whites.

Graphically describing the struggling farm town, the businesses on Main Street, and the atmosphere surrounding the trial, McKanna draws a vivid picture of how an incompetent defense counsel, a biased press, a lax judge, and anti-Indian sentiment conspired to send an innocent man to the gallows. Lacking experience in criminal trials, Indian Joe's appointed attorney missed opportunities for cross-examination and leads that might have established reasonable doubt. He also failed to exploit a crime scene that was thoroughly trampled and contaminated by neighbors before and even after the sheriff arrived.

McKanna points out that Indians charged with killing whites were convicted nearly 90 percent of the time during this period, while no white ever was convicted for killing an Indian. His book is a vivid reminder of the racism that afflicted, and still afflicts, our system of criminal justice. In spare, understated prose accompanied by photographs, maps, and a reconstruction of the crime scene, it tells a sad story in high style.

Fifty years later, in August 1942, José Diaz was found murdered. Diaz, a Mexican American youth from the East Los Angeles barrio, bled to death on a desolate road outside his neighbor's shack, where he had gone to attend the birthday party of twenty-year-old Eleanor Delgadillo Coronado. The crime, which took place near a small pond, came to be known as the Sleepy Lagoon murder and, like other crimes allegedly committed by minorities during this period, ignited a firestorm of public opinion and racist editorializing in the national press.

In the wake of the murder, the L.A. Police Department conducted a dragnet of Mexican American neighborhoods, arresting more than six hundred young men and women and ultimately charging a group of 38th Street youth—which the press promptly pronounced a "gang"—with the crime. The story is familiar: a disorganized defense team, a highly partisan prosecutor, and a racist judge convinced in advance of the youths' guilt combined to render the verdict ordained.

But the story differs in a number of respects from that of Indian Joe. For one thing, both the victim and the defendants were Mexican American. For another, it is now mid-century, so that the defendants were not entirely without resources. The Sleepy Lagoon case featured a crack citizens' defense committee, which included Carey McWilliams, that worked diligently and effectively on the youths' behalf and eventually got their convictions reversed on appeal.

As with other books in this genre, the author, a program officer at the National Endowment for the Humanities, believes that the defendants did not commit the crime and also that he knows who did. Pagán canvassed the available evidence, including later events such as the Zoot Suit riots in which U.S. sailors rounded up and beat Mexican youth wearing distinctive garb. He posits that the Latino youth were innocent, that the crime took place in the course of an ordinary robbery that just happened to coincide with a neighborhood rumble, and that racist hysteria, wartime fervor, a beleaguered police force, and a dizzying array of social forces conspired to put them behind bars.

The prose is grandiloquent, purple, and high-flown, with many hypotheses, buzzwords, and neologisms, so that the intriguing tale of the Latino youths tends to get lost in a maze of academic issue-framing. In that respect, the book is a devastating metaphor for its own subject. Like a Zoot Suit—an oversized, puffed-up suit of clothes worn to advertise the owner's membership in a group—the book exerts an attraction only to those who want more speculation than analysis, more academic theorizing than apt narrative.

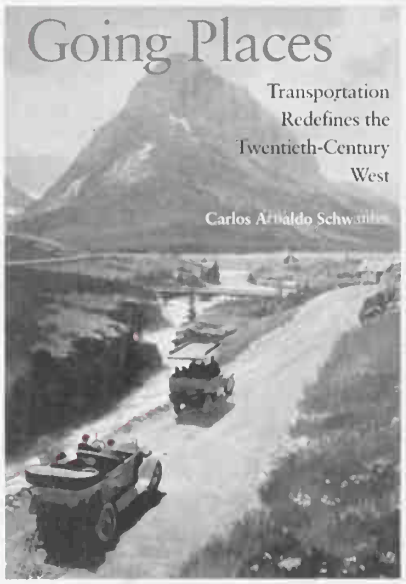
REVIEWS

GOING PLACES: TRANSPORTATION REDEFINES THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY WEST

By Carlos Arnaldo Schwantes (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003, xix, 419 pp., $39.95 cloth)

REVIEWED BY A.C.W. BETHEL, PROFESSOR EMERITUS AT CALIFORNIA POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY, SAN LUIS OBISPO

Professor Schwantes defines the West as everything beyond the hundredth meridian, and the need to include the impact on transportation history of larger events broadens his discussion still further. The resulting book is a kind of free-wheeling quilt of intertwined accounts of geography, technology, personalities and events. For example, his discussion of the railroad era includes agricultural development, tourist promotion, standardized time zones, the effect on railroads of competition from waterborne freight, the copper industry and railroad electrification, the rise and decline of interurban electric railways, the railroad careers of copper-based financiers and railroad builders, the final transcontinental railroad connections and George Gould's frustrated ambition to assemble a coast-to-coast railroad, and government operation of the nations' railroads in World War I, accompanied by the author's occasional brief digressions into, for example, the astrological significance of copper.



Hard facts are here abundantly, sometimes presented using maps, charts, and tables. Schwantes's errors of fact are few and minor. The book is refreshingly free of ideological denunciations of wealth, railroads, auto makers, highway building, or regulatory agencies. Often examples are enlivened with personal anecdote, such as Schwantes's reflections on western transportation corridors as seen from his airplane seat. But he sometimes overdoes his conversational style: the federal government is almost invariably called Uncle Sam, for example. The visual images are evocative and well-matched to the text.

Schwantes adapts John Stilgoe's idea of transportation corridors as extensions of urban landscape to the distinctive features of western geography, arguing that aridity, rugged and mountainous terrain, economic reliance on extractive industries and locally specialized agriculture, and, even today, thin population have both shaped transportation and been shaped by it. Schwantes's corridors are not only railroads but highways and airways as well—waterways are given little attention—and Schwantes shows how each successive type of corridor has transformed the West anew.

Schwantes has published original research on transportation in the northwest, and his well-researched book makes effective use of a wide range of sources written at the time. His treatment of the railroad era and its decline, the interrelated development of highways and automobile travel, the dislocations caused by World War II, the postwar triumph of highways and of air travel, the reinvention (his term) of long-haul freight railroads and the effects of deregulation on the air industry are lively and informative. His list of references is extensive, but it is not annotated, and endnotes are primarily identifications of direct quotes; interested readers would have profited from some more direction.

At times, Schwantes writes somewhat loosely: "It became common for individual motorists to imagine any new stretch of highway had been constructed expressly for them. Drivers seemed to bond personally with the nation's highway network in the 1920s and 1930s, something train travelers frequently found impossible to do with large and aloof railroad companies" (53). One wonders how this claim is or could be supported. Similarly, sometimes Schwantes seems too quick to attribute causation: for example, he writes: "A person riding [an electric interurban car] as it ambled through the countryside from one stop to another—or worse, riding to work aboard a slowpoke streetcar—had only to notice his neighbor speed

by in an automobile to be motivated to purchase one just as good or better for himself" (109).

Taken as an explanation for the decline of electric traction this seems facile. Even high-speed interurban ridership declined decisively, and people riding urban streetcars to work at peak travel times didn't see automobile traffic speeding by. Moreover, automobile ownership offers another explanation for electric railway ridership decline, namely the lower marginal cost of operating an automobile once one had been acquired. But these minor cavils aside, Schwantes has brought a lot of significant material together in one place and his book is readable and informative.

HISTORIC SPOTS IN CALIFORNIA

By Douglas E. Kyle (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002, revised ed., xvii, 661 pp., $75 cloth, $34.95 paper)

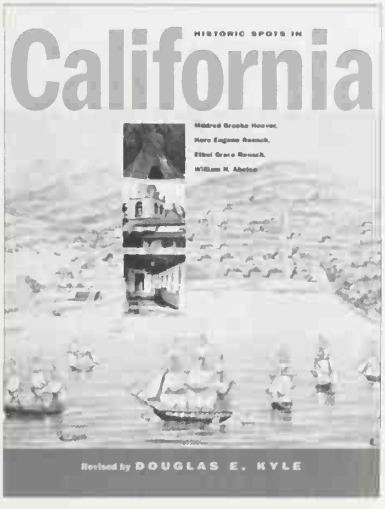
REVIEWED BY DANIEL B. ROSEN, EMERITUS INSTRUCTOR OF HISTORY AT MERRITT COLLEGE AND CO-AUTHOR OF *EL PRESIDIO DE SAN FRANCISCO*

Historic Spots in California is the definitive guide to historic sites in California. The book itself has an interesting history. It was first conceived by some California members of the Daughters of the American Revolution more than seventy years ago. First published by the Stanford University Press in 1932, the book has been in print ever since. Over the years six authors and revisers have been responsible for its contents; the fourth and the current fifth editions are the work of Douglas Kyle, who had a long and distinguished career at Merritt College in Oakland. This is a big book, both in size and historical scholarship. Professor Kyle has provided descriptions of all of California's State Registered Landmarks, as well as many other sites marked by the National Register of Historic Places and by private historical organizations. In some cases the markers are all that are left after physical remains have vanished over time. The book begins with a short overview of California's history, and is followed by chapters representing each of the state's fifty-eight counties. Within each chapter are descriptions of the various places of interest with appropriate geographical material and human history from the time of the Native Americans right up to the beginning of the 21st century. Also included are names and addresses of significant historical museums, as well as an extensive updated bibliography and index.

Each new edition of *Historic Spots* reflects not only changed and new material, but also the interests and style of the revisers. As the person responsible for both this and the previous edition, Professor Kyle has largely rewritten the whole guide, as well as providing all of the many photographs included in the work. As examples of the many changes, one can find in the Mono County chapter a mention in the fourth edition of the controversial draining of Mono Lake while the latest edition provides information about the recent legal agreement with the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, which has begun the restoration of the lake and its tributaries.

This new edition shows the substantial changes that have been made in the management and preservation of the ghost town of Bodie, now a State Historic Park. History is always changing; an example of some information that will need changing in the next edition is the material about Marin County's controversial Drake's Plate of Brass. It was only after this fifth edition of *Historic Spots* was published that the suspected fake has been confirmed by the perpetrators of the hoax.

Historic Spots in California would be a welcome addition to the library of anyone interested in the state's history. The book is a huge wealth of scholarly information, but presented in a very readable way. People traveling around California will find the work a stimulating and entertaining tour guide. But one doesn't have to leave home to appreciate this unique reference work; readers can learn much about their own communities, or they can find much to enjoy in looking up specific subjects or in just skipping around and learning something new about how



this remarkable state has developed into what it is today. Douglas Kyle deserves much praise for providing us with such a rich and useful resource.

FREE TO DIE FOR THEIR COUNTRY: THE STORY OF JAPANESE AMERICAN DRAFT RESISTERS IN WORLD WAR II

By Eric L. Muller (University of Chicago Press, 2003, 250 pp., $27.50 cloth, $15 paper).

REVIEWED BY MARTHA NAKAGAWA, A JOURNALIST FOR *ASIAN WEEK, CHICAGO SHIMPO, HOKUBEI MAINICHI, NICHI BEI TIMES, NIKKEI WEST, PACIFIC CITIZEN,* AND THE *RAFU SHIMPO.*

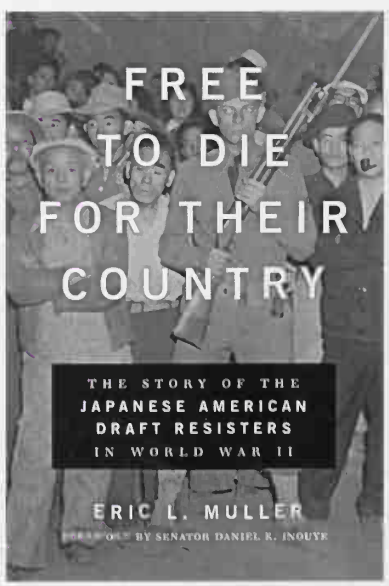
Near the U.S. capitol building stands the National Japanese American Memorial, honoring the patriotism of the 120,000 people of Japanese ancestry forcibly placed into United States internment camps during World War II.

But what is patriotism?

University of North Carolina law professor Eric Muller explores this question by focusing on a group of Japanese American draft resisters through oral interviews, archival documents, and newspaper articles. These men refused to serve in the U.S. Army until they and their families were released from camp. He touches upon the draft resistance in different camps but focuses on three of the ten main camps. The draft resisters' struggle for democracy took place in the courtrooms, not on distant battlefields fighting for a principle not granted at home. For taking this stand, Muller reveals that these men paid a heavy price.

The resisters' stand directly opposed the wartime policy of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), the nation's oldest Asian American civil rights organization. Wartime JACL embarked on a public relations campaign that advocated Japanese American cooperation with the government in entering the camps. The JACL then lobbied the government to have the draft reinstated for Japanese Americans. Leading the charge was JACL leader Mike Masaoka, who exhorted that "in a baptism of blood," Japanese Americans must prove their loyalty through military service. One point the book does not cite about Masaoka was that he was never in camp.

For the most part, the resisters were convicted of draft evasion and sentenced to about three years in a federal prison. The punishments, however, ranged from five years to dismissal from the military, and Muller analyzes, in understandable terms, the legal basis for the different rulings. Muller doesn't stop there. He goes one step further by studying the judges' existing speeches and personal writings to shed light on the subjective nature of the American justice system.



Errors worth noting include wrongly crediting two JACLers, Fred Hirasuna (1908–2004) and Karl Kinaga (1925 – 2004), as being 442nd soldiers. Hirasuna did not serve in the U.S. military, and like Masaoka, was never in camp. Kinaga served in the military but not in the 442nd. Muller could also have drawn a greater distinction between the 100th Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. While both were all-Japanese American combat units, the 100th was formed in 1942 and comprised of Hawaiian Japanese Americans whose family were not placed in mass camps. In 1943, the government unsuccessfully attempted to recruit camp volunteers, but when that failed, the draft was instituted to form the 442nd. The 100th then joined the 442nd.

Absent from the book is a discussion of the 1940 Selective Service Act, which prohibited the drafting of inmates from penitentiaries or similar institutions. By all accounts, the camps were jails, but this point is never raised. Despite these minor shortcomings, Muller's informative book should inspire the reader to reevaluate the meaning of patriotism.

CHECKLIST

Compiled by Charles N. Johnson

The Checklist provides notice of publications that portray the diverse and exceptional nature of California. Readers and publishers who wish to call attention to recent works, including reprints, are requested to send the following information to the editor of *California History*: author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, price (including postage and handling), binding type (cloth or paper), International Standard Book Number (ISBN), and order address. Mail to Dr. Janet Fireman, Editor, *California History*, History Department, Loyola Marymount University, One LMU Drive, Los Angeles, CA 90045.

Anderson, Terry L., and Peter J. Hill. *The Not So Wild, Wild West: Property Rights on the Frontier.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004. $24.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8047-4845-3. ORDER FROM: Stanford University Press, 1450 Page Mill Road, Palo Alto, CA 94304.

Arnold, Jeanne E., ed. *The Origins of a Pacific Coast Chiefdom: The Chumash of the Channel Islands.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2001. $60 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87480-674-7. ORDER FROM: University of Utah Press, 1795 E. South Campus Drive, #101 Salt Lake City, UT 84112-9402.

Bonnett, Linda and Wayne Bonnett. *Isaiah West Taber: A Photographic Legacy 1870–1900.* Sacramento: California State Library Foundation, 2004. Introduction by Gary F. Kurutz. $45 (cloth), plus $5 shipping. ORDER FROM: California State Library Foundation, 1225 Eighth Street, Suite 345, Sacramento, CA 95814.

Bowcock, Robert. *Butchertown: A Collage of a San Francisco Institution During 1850–1969.* San Francisco: R. Bowcock, 2004. $13.95 (paper), plus $3 shipping. ORDER FROM Robert Bowcock, 1571 37th Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94122.

Clark de Nevers, Klancy. *The Colonel and the Pacifist: Karl Bendetsen, Perry Saito, and the Incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II.* Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 2004. $55 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87480-788-3, $21.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-87480-789-1. ORDER FROM: University of Utah Press, 1795 E. South Campus Drive, #101, Salt Lake City, UT 84112-9402.

Conway, James. *The Far Side of Eden: New Money, Old Land, and the Battle for the Napa Valley.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2002. $28 (cloth) ISBN: 0-618-37980-0, $14 (paper) 0-618-37980-0.

Emery, Rose Peters. *Footprints in the Soil: A Portuguese-Californian Remembers.* San Jose: Portuguese Heritage Publications, 2003 $14 (paper, includes CA sales tax, $1.50 for postage). ORDER FROM: Craftsman Distributors, 1173 Singletary Avenue, San Jose, CA 95126.

Etulian, Richard W., ed. *Western Lives: A Biographical History of the American West.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004. $23.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-8263-3472-5. ORDER FROM: University of New Mexico Press, Order Department, 3721 Spirit Drive SE, Albuquerque, NM 87106-5631.

Gillis, Michael and Michael Magliari. *John Bidwell and California: The Life and Writings of a Pioneer.* Paradise, CA: Paradise Coin and Gift, 2003. "The first full-length biography of John Bidwell in over fifty years . . . ." $39.50 (cloth), plus $3 for shipping, Calif. residents add $2.86 sales tax. ORDER FROM: Paradise Coin and Gift, 6848U Skyway, Paradise, CA 95969.

Harding, George L. *Don Agustin Zamorano: Statesman, Soldier, Craftsman, and California's First Printer.* Spokane , WA: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2004. With a new introduction, by Roberto Carlos Dalton Matheu (great-great-grandson of Agustin Zamorano). $45 (cloth), shipping charge for one book, except when check or money order accompanies order. ISBN: 0-87062-325-7. ORDER FROM: Arthur H. Clark Company, Post Office Box 14707, Spokane, WA 99214-0707.

Hartnell, William E.P. *The Diary and Copybook of William E.P. Hartnell: Visitador General of the Missions of Alta California in 1839 and 1840.* Spokane, WA: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2004. $29.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87062-330-3, $18 (PAPER) ISBN: 0-87062-329-X. ORDER FROM: Arthur H. Clark Company, Post Office Box 14707, Spokane, WA 99214.

Henry, Fern. *My Checkered Life: Luzena Stanley Wilson in Early California.* Nevada City, CA: Carl Mautz Publishing, 2003, reprint of 1937 edition, introduction by Gary Kurutz. $35 (cloth) ISBN: 1-887694-52-8, $22.50 (paper) ISBN: 1-887694-53-6. ORDER FROM: Carl Mautz Publishing, 15472 Shannon Way, Nevada City, CA 95959.

Kalani, Lyn and Sarah Sweedler. *Fort Ross and the Sonoma Coast.* Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2004. $19.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-7385-2896-X. ORDER FROM: Fort Ross Interpretive Association, 19005 Coast Highway One, Jenner, CA 95450.

Kurutz, Gary F., and W. Michael Mathes. *The Forgotten War: The Conflict Between Mexico and the United States 1846-1849: A Bibliography of the Holdings of the California State Library.* Sacramento: California State Library Foundation, 2004. Introduction by Gary F. Kurutz. $25 (cloth), plus $5 shipping, California residents add appropriate sales tax. ORDER FROM: California State Library Foundation, 1225 Eighth Street, Suite 345, Sacramento, CA 95814.

Jackson, Louise A. *The Mule Men: A History of Stock Packing in the Sierra Nevada.* Missoula, MT: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 2004. $12 (paper) ISBN: 0-87842-499-7. ORDER FROM: Mountain Press Publishing Company, Post Office Box 2399, Missoula, MT 59806.

Lech, Steve. *Along the Old Roads: A History of the Portion of Southern California That Became Riverside County, 1772–1893.* Riverside: S. Lech, 2004. $43 (cloth), includes shipping. ORDER FROM: Steve Lech, Post Office Box 21168, Riverside, CA 92516-1168.

Melendy, H. Bret. *Growing Up along California's North Coast: Boyhood Days in Humboldt County during the 1930s.* Tucson, AZ: Hats Off Books, 2004. $12.95 (paper) ISBN: 1-58736-258-9. ORDER FROM: Wheatmark Bookstore, 610 East Delano Street, Suite 104, Tucson, AZ 85705-5210.

Miller, Mark Edwin. *Forgotten Tribes: Unrecognized Indians and the Federal Acknowledgment Process.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. $59.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8032-3226-8. ORDER FROM: University of Nebraska Press, 233 North 8th Street, Lincoln, NE 68588-0255.

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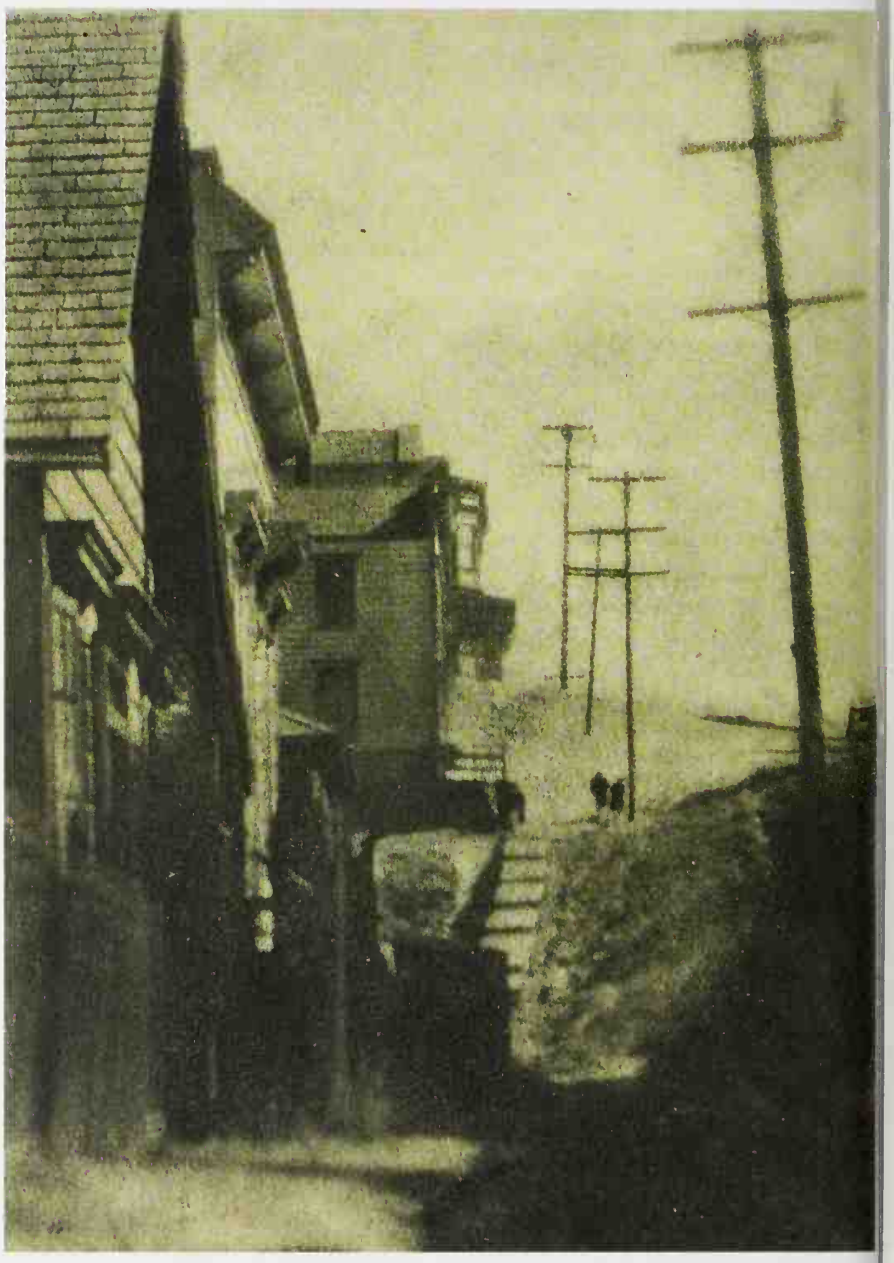

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Alice Burr

LOCATION
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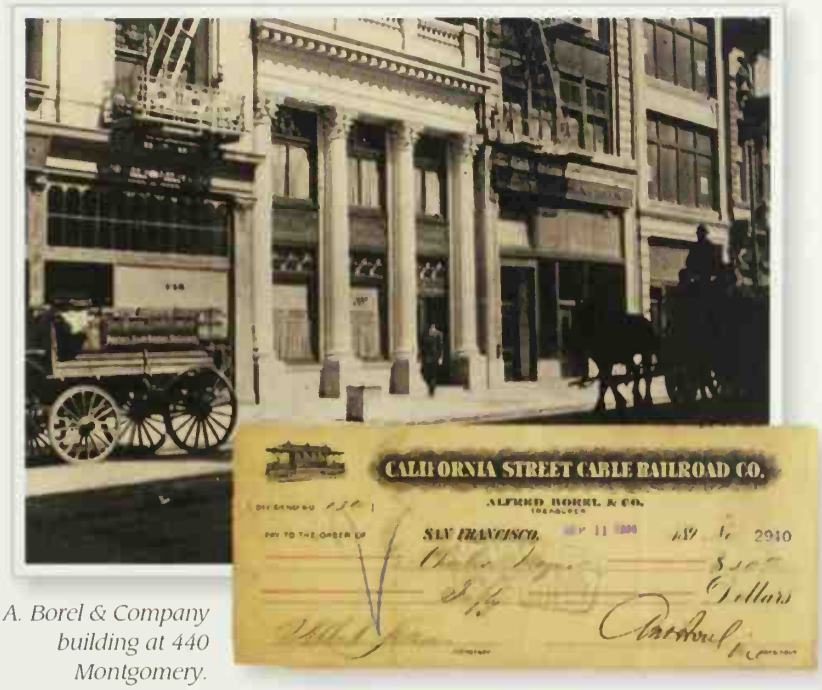

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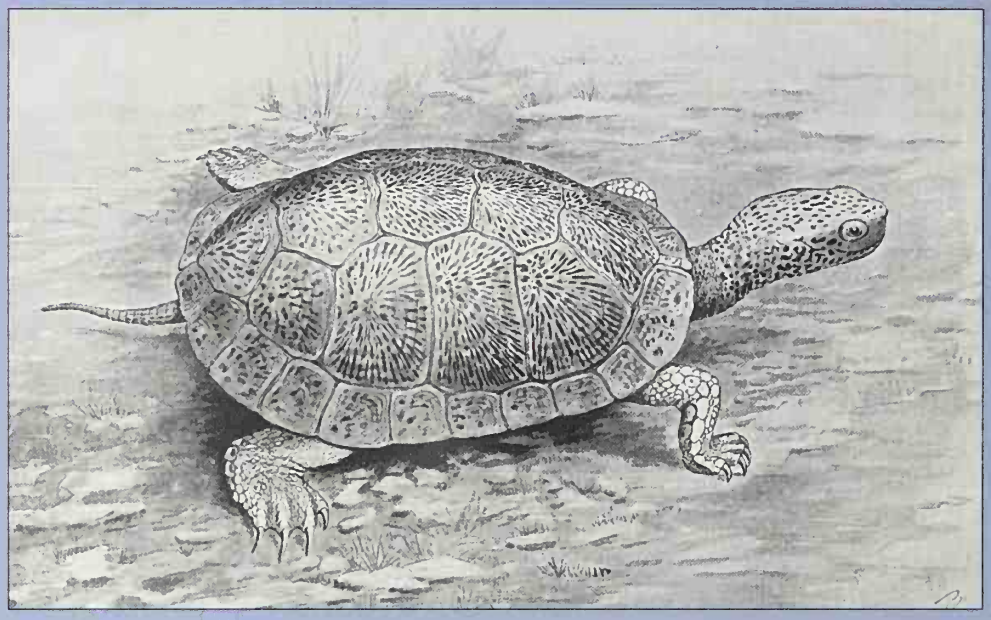

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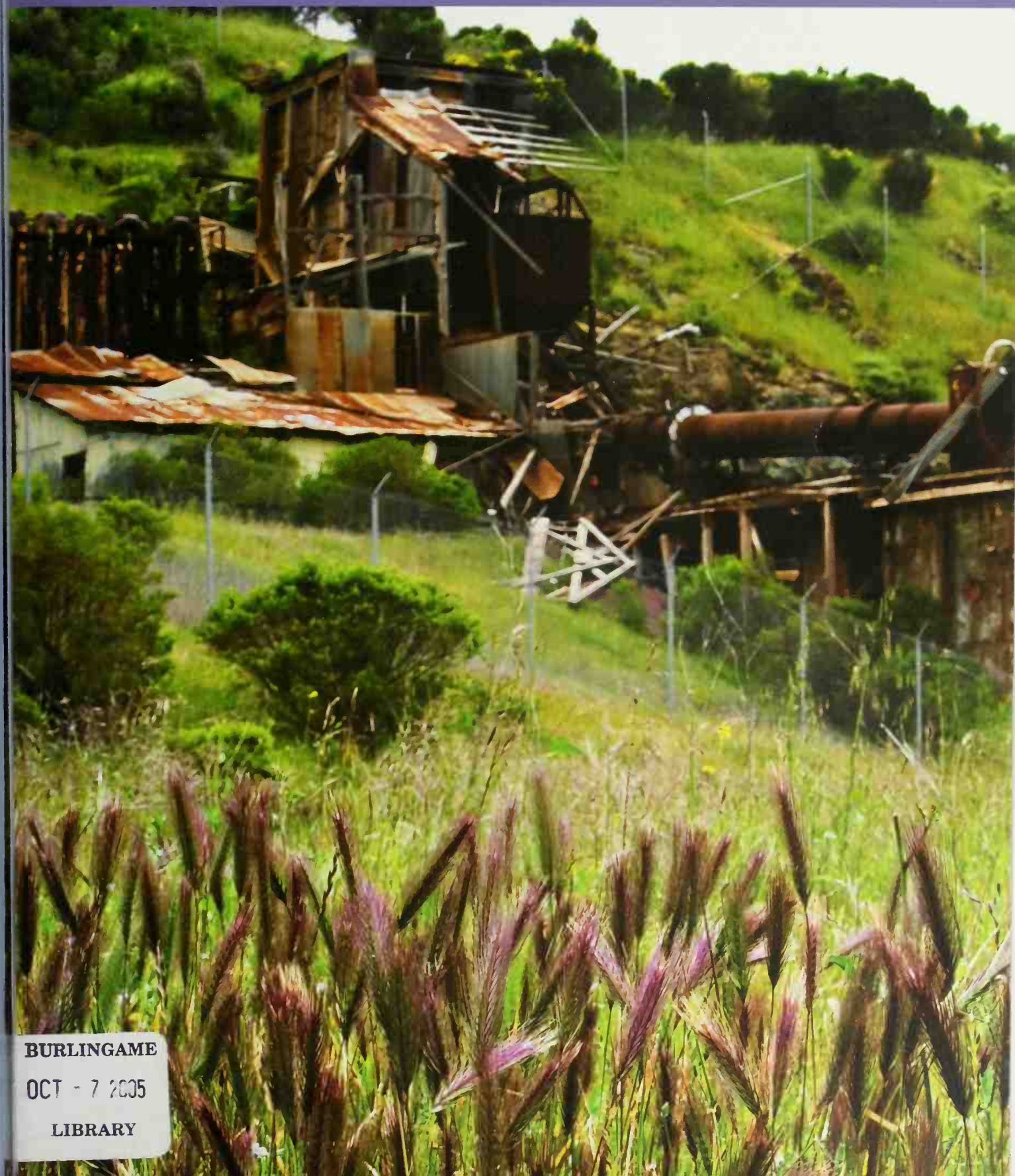

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A derelict mining building at New Almaden Quicksilver County Park. The Santa Clara County park has transformed a former mercury mine into a 3,600-acre preserve for walkers, equestrians, and mountain-bikers.

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A derelict mining building at New Almaden Quicksilver County Park. The Santa Clara County park has transformed a former mercury mine into a 3,600-acre preserve for walkers, equestrians, and mountain-bikers.

PHOTOGRAPH © G. DAN MITCHELL

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THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY is a statewide membership-based organization designated by the Legislature as the state historical society. Its mission is to engage the public's interest and participation in collecting, preserving, and presenting art, artifacts, and written materials relevant to the history of California and to support historical research, publication, and educational activities.

A quarterly journal published by CHS since 1922, *California History* features articles by leading scholars and writers focusing on the heritage of California and the West from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, pictorial essays, and book reviews examine the ongoing dialogue between the past and the present. Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*.

FROM THE EDITOR

LIVING LANDSCAPES

A fashionable lament these days is over the demise of local and regional distinctiveness. Lost, people say, are the earmarks of town, city, and area. They are subsumed by the corporate landscape of big-box stores, fast-food eateries, and unfortunate mini-malls. Dolling up dreary downtowns and other districts is prescribed as cure; sometimes these treatments succeed both at place-making and at money-making. Civic leaders and developers restore or invent a disappeared local past, or anticipate a future with buildings and public spaces that evoke an altogether new and gleaming sense of place.

The pros and cons of this present state of affairs are deliciously arguable. But there is little doubt about the historical record of time and place in California, which is being revealed with astonishing depth and insight by scholars of many orientations. Even if buried beneath hard-surface pavement, all-too-familiar and recognizable backlit signs, and cookie-cutter construction, the landscape is alive and has a heart. While the built environment we pass through in our drive-by routines appears undistinguished, repetitious, predictable, and too regular, stories of dimension and weight abide within. Behind the facades, the past is there—or more likely, multiple pasts are in each place, and chances are good that some of them are human pasts, as well as stories from the geologic and biological epochs that went before.

In truth, you don't even have to crane your neck in order to peer behind the insipid veneer. You can appreciate the historic scenery within your own neighborhood or out on the highway during a distant commute, on a quick weekend getaway, business trip, or during dedicated recreational travel. J. B. Jackson, the godfather of landscape studies, believes that "we attach too much importance to art and architecture in producing an awareness of our belonging to a city or a country, when what we actually share is a sense of time" (John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *A Sense of Place, A Sense of Time*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994, 162 pp). He believes that the organization of landscape is now subject to the mechanical clock that rules our lives; the timetable and sense of time have demoted the centrality of sense of place.

Shake off the constrictions of timetable and ritual: Take in the view! Let the hands of the clock do their own thing while you do yours; look for the living landscape of the past in your everyday world. A good place to start is in the pages that follow.

Janet R. Fireman
Editor

The Peoples Temple recruited members from African American communities in San Francisco and Los Angeles; by 1973 there were more than 2,500 members. Some lived in communal housing and worked full time for the Peoples Temple, others contributed significant portions of their income and property to the church. Operations included real estate management, home care facilities for seniors and youths, publishing, and maintenance of a fleet of buses to transport members to services throughout California and across the country.

The Peoples Temple Collection

One of the top news stories of 1978 was the deaths of 918 people in Jonestown, Guyana, a small country in the jungles of South America. Members of the California-based Peoples Temple had developed an agricultural community in Guyana; California Congressman Leo J. Ryan organized a fact-finding mission to Jonestown in response to questions raised by the U.S. media and former followers. His visit ended in tragedy: on November 18, a long-time member, Ryan, and three journalists were killed by Peoples Temple members. That day, more than nine hundred Jonestown residents died from poisoning, and four members died in Georgetown, Guyana's capital.

In San Francisco, surviving Peoples Temple members immediately filed papers to dissolve the church. The superior court of California appointed a receiver to oversee the winding up of the Peoples Temple estate, a process that took five years. In 1983, the receiver placed the official records at the California Historical Society. Since then, former members, relatives, and

In 1973, the Peoples Temple voted to establish an agricultural and rural development mission in Guyana, South America, that became known as Jonestown. Early settlers cleared the land and began construction at the site, building a communal kitchen, housing, schools, farm buildings, and a medical facility and day-care center surrounding an open-air pavilion.

scholars have donated additional materials related to Peoples Temple.

The Peoples Temple Collection currently contains more than 170 boxes of letters, documents, photographs, and audiotapes, including original items from the 1950s; government records from the FBI, CIA, and other agencies; and personal papers of former members and their families. Recent additions to the collection include papers collected by a psychologist who worked with former members of Peoples Temple and Jonestown survivors; nearly 1,200 slides of Peoples Temple activities in the United States and Guyana from the late 1960s to 1978; and nine hundred audiotapes of church services, amateur radio transmissions, and media broadcasts.

Recently, the collection has been featured in several new works that explore a wide array of perspectives on the Jonestown tragedy. In April 2005, the California Historical Society Press released *Dear People: Remembering Jonestown*, a selection of letters, personal histories, and photographs from the collection. This publication coincided with the world premiere of

In 1977, former members and relatives organized a group called the Concerned Relatives to protest Jim Jones's treatment of church members. Child custody issues and living conditions in Jonestown were at the center of the conflict between the Peoples Temple and the Concerned Relatives. Media coverage of Peoples Temple practices and political activities led the government to investigate the church's financial and social welfare programs. The Peoples Temple closed many of its businesses, sold its properties, and relocated hundreds of its members to Guyana.

Leigh Fondakowski's *The People's Temple*, a play based on contemporary interviews and archival materials, produced by Berkeley Repertory Theatre and Z Space Studio. A documentary about the making of the play, produced by KQED, San Francisco's local PBS station, will air in November 2005. In 2006 the PBS series *American Experience* will broadcast award-winning filmmaker Stanley Nelson's documentary about the story of Peoples Temple.

The Peoples Temple Collection is available to researchers in the North Baker Research Library at the Society's headquarters in San Francisco. For current reading room hours, check the CHS website at www.californiahistoricalsociety.org.

ALL PHOTOGRAPHS ARE FROM THE PEOPLES TEMPLE COLLECTION AT THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Riffles at McMurtry's Camp on the American River, photographed in the 1860s.
From the Lawrence & Houseworth Albums, 1860-1870, California Views; Society of California Pioneers Photography Collection.

The Thrill of Rushing Water

By Barbara Tannenbaum

I have a rule that every vacation must contain a "big wow." My partner Leah and I had taken our 11-year-old niece, Ariana, and her twin brothers, Aidan and Jeremy (both 7) to Yosemite National Park, followed by a daylong rafting trip on the South Fork of the American River. It meant an early wake-up call in Camp Curry at 5 a.m. and then a few hours driving north on Highway 49 as it winds through the foothills of the Sierra Nevada. Leah drove, I navigated, and yes, we got lost. But the concept behind the "big wow" is that it's always worth it.

With kids in tow, our role model for this expedition was the movie character Auntie Mame. You know, "life is a banquet and most people are starving"—we planned to have over-the-top, extravagant fun. Yosemite certainly has grandeur, even in July at the height of the tourist season. Off the beaten path, there were granite rocks and boulders to climb, Yosemite Falls and El Capitan to marvel at, and the bracingly cold water of the Merced River to wade in during baking midday heat. River rafting alternates the physical thrills of a long, bouncy roller coaster ride with the restorative pleasure of getting drenched on a meltingly hot day.

The great froth and fast water of the South Fork of the American River are created by sudden downhill dips and the headlong impact of water slamming against boulders strewn throughout the river. Yet the rapids, ranging from those rated an easy class II (not much paddling needed) to the more experienced class IV (all hands on deck!), alternate with long stretches of water so calm you can jump out and swim alongside the raft.

There are attractions for history buffs as well as thrill-seekers. Once nicknamed the "Gold Rush river," the South Fork is where James Marshall discovered gold in the creek bed near Sutter's Mill in 1848. The drive along Highway 49 passes the legendary Marshall Gold Discovery State Historic Park, the focus of fourth-grade students throughout California's elementary schools. But in summer, the kids patiently endured hours of windy roads solely for the South Fork, the most popular recreational river in the western United States, drawing more than 100,000 rafters, kayakers, and paddlers every year.

A full armada of concessionaires offer guided trips by inflatable rafts, oar boats, and kayaks. We choose the women-owned Mariah Wilderness Expeditions, founded by Donna Hunter some twenty-two years ago.

We met Grady, our guide, at the camp. Everyone was fitted for a life jacket and given double-bladed paddles. We headed down to the river's edge, wearing our shorts, swimsuits, lifejackets, tennis shoes (no flip-flops allowed) and a generous slather of sunscreen. Happily, we had one raft all to ourselves, as several of Mariah's blue inflatable rafts set out into the water. The air carried the tangy scent of sage and juniper. A hawk circled overhead. Grady steering the craft from the back, Leah and I in front for power, and the three kids seated along the middle flanks of the raft. I nestled my foot into a strap attached to the bottom of the boat and leaned over the water, paddling hard.

Soon we were gliding through some smallish, Class II rapids (what Grady called riffles in the water) and pointing out rocks that resembled gorillas, lollipops, and wax candles turned to pudding in the sun. "Who wants to go swimming?" Grady asked. Naturally, we all did. "The key," Grady explained, is to keep your legs out in front of you. You just sit in the river and let it carry you down."

The kids jumped in first and we floated along. "We've got about ten minutes before we get to any serious water," Grady told Leah. "I'll pull them back in before then." When it was my turn, I climbed over the side and dropped into shockingly cold water. It didn't take long to grow accustomed to it, though. And the contrast with the oven-hot air was delicious.

We stopped for lunch—a spread of sandwich meats, cheese, fruit and cookies—but everyone was eager to return to the river. Each rapid had a name, and the first big one was called Satan's Cesspool. This time, Grady suggested the kids pile in front and Leah and I stay in the middle to paddle. "They'll be fine," Grady assured us in a low voice, "but the minute we drop, start paddling as hard as you can to your right."

A river rapid doesn't look all that big until the first bounce. Suddenly, the current gained in speed and power, thrusting us straight toward the rocks. Then a sideways rush of water turned the raft away from the edge, and lifted us high, the front half suspended for a moment over air. Down we flopped as a great swell of water rose above my head like a tsunami. I had time to wonder if anyone else was paddling before I cowered in my seat and felt a wave crash over me. I had time to wipe my eyes when another tapestry of water enveloped me again. The raft heaved up and down, and side to side for what seemed to be forever. Then the rocks fell away, the waves died down, the river grew calm. The kids barely pushed their soaking wet hair out of their eyes before they were yelling with happiness.

They arranged themselves in the front of the raft like a ship's bow ornament, leaning as far forward into the waves as we'd let them. We spun our raft in circles riding through Hospital Bar Rapid. We jostled our way through the Lower Haystack Canyon Rapid. In the end, Aidan suggested "bouncing dynamite" for the last, nameless rapid that finally let us out near Folsom Lake.

As we drove back to the Bay Area with three tired kids dozing in the back of our Subaru, I thought about the character of Auntie Mame again. We'd updated the icon, exchanging her jewelry and turban for physical adventure. But we kept her intent to dazzle, seeking out and sharing an experience that was extreme, fun, and of course, fabulous.

WHERE TO GO

In California, the river rafting season lasts from May through October. Rafters must wear wetsuits during spring when the river fills with snowmelt. **Mariah Wilderness Expeditions** (1-800-462-7424; 530-626-6049) offers a wide range of trips, including one-day, two-day, and longer expeditions on seven of California's rivers. See their website at http://www.mariahwe.com for a full schedule. For background information on California's rivers, check out **Friends of the River** at http://www.friendsoftheriver.org.

Garden and Mine, Paradise and Purgatory:
LANDSCAPES OF LEISURE AND LABOR IN CALIFORNIA

By Peter A. Coates

A TALE OF TWO PLACES

In his best-selling book, the ironically titled *Merrie England* (1894), a prominent British socialist explained to northern England's working class how the "champions of the factory system" had manufactured a dual landscape of privilege and deprivation that underscored the notion of two nations within one country:

> You will find these people living as far from the factories as they can get . . . The pleasures they enjoy are denied to you. To make wealth for themselves they destroy the beauty and health of your dwelling places; and then they sit in their suburban villas, or on the hills and terraces of the lovely southern countries, and sneer at the "sentimentality" of the men who ask you to cherish beauty and to prize health.[1]

Robert Blatchford's England, heavily influenced by Henry David Thoreau's searing critique of industrial capitalism in *Walden* (1854), was an early example of what geographers, sociologists and other scholars now call a "landscape of power."[2] Echoing Blatchford in the early 1970s, another leading British socialist thinker, Raymond Williams, pondered the "very bitter irony" that, as capitalism besieged the natural world, industrialists managed to "both live on the process and escape its products."[3] Studying people and place as a way to understand the distribution of societal power as well as human authority over the physical world offers a sharper insight into historical relationships between people and the rest of the natural world than the traditional juxtaposition of the monolithic entities of "man" and "nature." Alan Taylor, a social historian of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century American frontier, has characterized the traditional differences between social historians and environmental historians by focusing on mutual myopias:

> Social historians are so preoccupied with the demanding business of reconstituting the multiple divisions and complex interrelationships within human populations that most treat the natural context as a given, as a constant, as an assumed but unexplored backdrop. . . . Similarly, environmental historians face such a difficult task in analyzing the complicated and volatile relationship of humans to their ecosystems that they are often tempted to depict societies and cultures as homogenous wholes. Thereby, they mute the subdivisions and conflicts that so interest social historians.[4]

This essay is an attempt to marry social and environmental history by examining two places in California. Like *Merrie England*, it addresses the intimate if often concealed relationship between places of recreation and work, between places that were beautiful, tranquil and healthful and places that were ugly, despoiled and unhealthy. My first example is the 280-acre Barron Estate, situated at the base of the San Francisco Peninsula, at Menlo Park, in San Mateo County. My

Eadweard Muybridge photographed two gentlemen enjoying the gardens of Menlo Park in the late nineteenth century. Said a 1890s British socialist of such scenes: "You will find these people living as far from the factories as they can get . . . The pleasures they enjoy are denied to you. To make wealth for themselves they destroy the beauty and health of your dwelling places; and then they sit in their suburban villas, or on the hills and terraces of the lovely southern countries, and sneer at the 'sentimentality' of the men who ask you to cherish beauty and to prize health."

Lone Mountain College Collection of Stereographs by Eadweard Muybridge, the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

second example is the quicksilver (mercury) mine about twenty-five miles to the south at New Almaden, Santa Clara County, in the foothills of the Santa Cruz Mountains. The estate's owner, William Eustace Barron, was the major player in the syndicate that controlled the mine between

The story of landscape aesthetics in the United States has conventionally been told with the accent on difference: the triumph of homegrown American taste over an (elite) English inheritance.

1847 and 1863. Today, this landscape of leisure represented by the Barron Estate has virtually disappeared. The residential streets of Menlo Park have largely replaced the lawns, fountains, groves, trout lake, deer park, aviary, hothouses and orchards. Little remains of the original Barron Estate except the gatehouse on Ravenswood Avenue (on the National Register of Historic Places since 1986), some magnificent oaks located within the grounds of the Menlo Park Civic Center, and two monkey puzzle trees in a bungalow's backyard. Though the landscape of labor at New Almaden has not vanished to the same degree in a physical sense, it is equally defunct. Mining operations effectively ceased in the late 1940s.

This mine and this garden rarely feature in histories of California—let alone together.[5] Yet in their nineteenth-century heydays, they counted among the state's leading attractions. Barron's estate and its successors drew visiting English aristocrats who were astonished (and delighted) to discover a place of such gentility in uncouth frontier California. The gardens of the estate's second owner were even painted by Albert Bierstadt (circa 1873) while the San Francisco-based Carleton Watkins extensively photographed the house and grounds, which had since been renamed Thurlow Lodge.[6]

New Almaden was more famous still. North American mining operations were wholly reliant on quicksilver, because no precious metal could be separated from dross without this amalgam-forming substance. Before Anglo-Mexican mining interests began to work the thick deposits in 1848, all mercury was imported from European mines at Idria in Austria (worked since the fifteenth century) and Almaden in Spain (in operation since Roman times). As gold was extracted from the Mother Lode in increasingly fabulous quantities, New Almaden quickly became the world's leading quicksilver mine. Bret Harte based one of his lesser known tales—*The Story of a Mine* (1878)—very loosely on the place. Watkins, the era's foremost landscape photographer, also produced some striking images of the New Almaden mines. Yet the place never really caught the eye of "local color" writers, and Watkins's images of the place are also seldom seen and discussed.[7] New Almaden remains overlooked by historians still preoccupied with the Gold Rush (especially in view of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary). Nevertheless, the most popular of the various guides to California available in the 1870s included a trip to New Almaden among its recommended day trips for the San Jose region.[8] "Very few of the eastern visitors who made trips through the state and returned home to write of their experiences," commented Henry Leicester, "failed to include a chapter on the New Almaden, which they considered one of the wonders of the state, and equal in interest to the Yosemite or the big trees."[9]

In addition to bringing the neglected, interconnected tales of two notable places in California to wider attention, this essay reflects on the sources of American tastes in landscape. Twenty years ago (when I joined their ranks), environmental historians of the United States were still gripped by the wild, spectacular, and extraordinary remnants of an "original" new world. Classic accounts such as Roderick Nash's *Wilderness and the American Mind* (1967) (then it its third, revised edition [1982]) concentrated on attitudes and ideas that emphasized the exceptionality of American land-

scapes apparently devoid of traces of human influence and posited a special relationship between (Anglo-) Americans and wilderness (my own preoccupation was the ultimate in American wildness—Alaska). Nowadays, historians recognize that those so-called "wild" places were often shaped by human hands as well. And we pay more attention to environments with a richer, more obvious human component: the industrial landscapes of the Pennsylvania oil rush of the 1860s, for instance, and those that are more common, such as the post-1945, near ubiquitous scenery of the suburbs.[10] Though American environmental historians continue to write about wild places and (with an ever more critical eye) the American obsession with wilderness, they are also interested in the American love affair with the lawn (collectively, these "ordinary" landscapes blanket an area the size of Pennsylvania).[11]

Just as American environmental historians have traditionally been attracted to places that Europe lacked, the story of landscape aesthetics in the United States has also conventionally been told with the accent on difference: the triumph of home-grown American taste over an (elite) English inheritance. Whereas the garden-park is usually considered to be the most representative of English landscapes, the national park has generally served as the American archetype. The Barron Estate at Menlo Park, however, was imitative of English norms in certain striking respects, suggesting the tenacity of the English aesthetic of nature, imperiously transplanted to a semi-arid environment nearer to Asia than England. Moreover, the private park (whether in England or the United States) and the American national park are closer in terms of how the landscapes within them were perceived than we have been led to believe. Even John Muir, that most enthusiastic publicist of unalloyed American wildness, responded to his beloved Sierra Nevada mountains in terms of the aesthetic conventions associated with eighteenth-century English parkscapes. In 1894, for example, he compared the range's canyon-bottom "parks" to "artificial landscape gardens, with charming groves and meadows, and thickets of blooming bushes."[12]

This preference for the pastoral will be examined in the geographical context of my chosen landscapes of leisure and labor in San Mateo County. The first British descriptions of the San Francisco Peninsula's characteristic vegetation of chaparral dotted with live (evergreen) oak, not surprisingly, conformed to this English landscape canon. In November 1792, the explorer, George Vancouver, en route from San Francisco's Presidio to the mission at Santa Clara, traveled on horseback through the area that became San Mateo County. One bright day following heavy rains, his party crossed a landscape devoid of settlements, ranchos or any other "place of shelter excepting such as the spreading trees provided." After about twenty-three miles, he was inspired to write:

> We arrived at a very pleasant and enchanting lawn, situated amidst a grove of trees at the foot of a small hill, by which flowed a very fine stream of excellent water. This delightful pasture was nearly inclosed on every side, and afforded sufficient space for resting ourselves and baiting our cavalry. . . . We had not proceeded far from this delightful spot, when we entered a country I little expected to find in these regions. For about twenty miles it could only be compared to a park, which had originally been closely planted with true old English oak; the underwood, that had probably attended its early growth, had the appearance of having been cleared away, and had left the stately lords of the forest in complete possession of the soil, which was covered with luxuriant herbage.[13]

Had he passed through the vicinity (which might easily have been the future Menlo Park) in the summer, Vancouver would have found it harder to screen out the unfamiliar features of the scenery, locate familiar elements and appraise the scenery in predictable pastoral terms. During the long dry season, he is unlikely to have been so effusive in his praise of this "imaginary park" (nor quite so eager to employ the park analogy

in the first place). The wealthy businessmen who settled in the Menlo Park area of San Mateo County following American acquisition from Mexico were certainly not content to enjoy its appealing greenery, so evocative of England, for only a few months each year.[14]

One of these affluent new residents was the quicksilver baron of New Almaden. When William Barron's company relinquished overall control of the mines in 1864, he spent some of his tremendous profits on a chunk of the "unimproved" open range that Vancouver had described. Here, his landscape designers carefully crafted a place of beauty and tranquillity that offered a stark contrast to the dislocated appearance and hurly-burly of his mining landscape.

Barron had been born in Spain (1822) and, before he came to California to represent the Mexico-based firm of Barron, Forbes and Company in 1850, had mostly lived in Mexico, where his father moved in the late 1820s. (Barron's father served as British vice-consul at Tepic from 1843 to 1847, and the family business interests encompassed silver mines, cotton mills and a bank.) Yet his Menlo Park estate—a third the size of Central Park—consciously aped the domain of the Eng-

The mine manager of the New Almaden mercury mine lived on six acres of gardens landscaped by the designer of Golden Gate Park. One traveler noted that "Flowers of rich and variegated hues bloom in the gardens, graveled walks traverse the orchards and graperies, and wind through the umbrageous groves that fringe the Alamitos [Creek]." In contrast, another traveler observed a more toxic landscape beyond the gardens. Because of fumes from the mines, "Every tree on the mountainside above the works is dead and some of more sensitive natures farther removed exhibit the influence of the poison in their shrunken and blanched foliage."

From Stereo Views of the West by Carleton E. Watkins, the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

lish gentry.[15] This was no solitary whim. Completion in 1864 of the railroad linking San Francisco and the state capital of San Jose (with a station at Menlo Park) facilitated both commuting and the rise of the country estate. Other wealthy San Francisco-based businessmen also sought rural retreats to complement their opulent Nob Hill mansions. They adjourned here on weekends, and for longer periods during the cool and foggy San Franciscan summers. Needing to be within easy reach of their city offices (Barron also served as acting Mexican consul in California), many members of the business elite bought up the best lands of the old Spanish and Mexican rancheros in San Mateo County, halfway down the Peninsula. The largest and most impressive cluster of mansions and estates west of the Mississippi emerged in the Menlo Park area.

Visitors were often struck by the incongruity of these estates. Barron, who died in 1871, did not create his estate as the basis for a dynastic inheritance, and it was already under its third owner in 1877 when a local minister paid a casual visit. The Reverend Woods was smitten by its rather alien grandeur. Even the stable overwhelmed him: "had you been in a foreign land, you might have supposed that some nobleman had erected a castle of antique style . . . you would sooner think these were the stables of some foreign prince than a private American citizen." Together, these estates Europeanized San Mateo county's social structure and landscape.[16] While creating jobs for carpenters, domestics, grooms, gardeners and other retainers, this "manorial environment" acted as a barrier to the forces of urbanization and the agricultural and industrial development engulfing much of the Bay Area.[17]

Carlton Watkins is best known for his photographs of Yosemite Valley and its surrounding peaks. Encapsulating the Anglo-American reinvention of Yosemite as a hallowed, primeval place undefiled by humanity, his images were crucial in securing political support for the creation of the park (1864) and in promoting the valley as a tourist destination after the Civil War.[18] Less well known are his commissions to photograph the peninsula homes and estates of the Barron Estate's second owner (Senator Latham) and his fellow industrial magnates who dabbled as part-time country squires (bound in plush albums, these photographs were designed for ostentatious display in the owner's wood-paneled library).[19]

Yet the mansion builders were mostly dead by 1900, and nobody kept up the estates. They were really just for show and another form of property investment (witness the number of times the Barron estate changed hands). Many of these Victorian gothic piles burnt down during the earthquake and fire of 1906; those that survived were converted to other uses, or razed to the ground and the land sold off for residential subdivisions. As a result, not a single specimen from the Gilded Age survives.[20] In this region today, we usually think of parks in terms of the rash of high-tech, carefully landscaped business and research parks that characterize Silicon Valley, whose prototype was the Stanford Industrial Park (1951). Displacing apricot and prune orchards, these parks nonetheless illustrate the persistence of the pastoral impulse. Leafy blends of suburb and campus, they are dotted with expanses of lawn separating low-slung buildings. Rows and clumps of foliage screen out unsightly features.[21] The allure of the pastoral also lives on—if on a more modest scale—in the thousands of verdant residential lawns that have replaced the extravagant greenswards of Menlo Park's great estates.

THE GARDEN: CALIFORNIA'S GREEN AND PLEASANT LAND

In the 1930s, a prominent local horticulturist praised the former estates as the embodiment of "the best traditions of their prototypes in England." The English model they slavishly followed provides further evidence of cultural colonialism in the West.[22] Despite the unfamiliar environment, England and the temperate, well-watered northeastern United States remained the inspiration. Agricultural colonization in the West was infused with the urge to transform what was perceived

to be a deficient, arid environment into a lush eden. This impulse, identified by Henry Nash Smith as the "myth of the garden," also extended to estate creation.[23]

Barron embroidered his estate with ruined columns from Parisian parks and Pompeii. But his pride and joy was his greensward. Receiving an annual rainfall of under twenty inches, Menlo Park is semi-arid. Moreover, all rain falls during the short winter. So maintaining his lawns at their optimal English green during the long dry season presented a great challenge. When Barron bought his estate, expensive artesian wells supplied Menlo Park's water. His solution was to establish the Corte Madera Water Works, which created a reservoir in the foothills of the coastal range by damming Bear Gulch Creek. By the summer of 1866, seven-inch pipes were supplying the water that allowed him to install a sprinkler system that soaked his grounds twice daily, year-round. All summer long, he swamped his lawns under an inch of water. A local society lady reported (1875) that Barron "once said that a green velvet carpet over the land, frequently renewed, would be less costly, but he had a preference for grass."[24]

An extensive description of the estate can be found in the diary of a young woman in her early twenties from Massachusetts. A house guest during the winter of 1884–85 at what was then called Sherwood Hall, Isabella Cass spent her time painting and strolling around the grounds, petting the deer, frolicking on the lawn, or perched in the wide branching oaks (retained from the former landscape) that lined the driveway. From the rustic summerhouse where she wrote her daily entries, Miss Cass watched "Chinamen" planting flowers, raking and rolling the gravel driveways and walks, planting English laurel hedges, and, seated on boxes, pulling weeds out of the lawns.[25] She was taken aback by the unanticipated verdure. The "broad, beautifully kept lawns . . . perfect, so fresh and green," were a source of deep pleasure, and she commented on the incessant watering by "pretty sprinklers" resembling fountains "playing in every direction."[26]

English visitors in the 1880s were equally struck by a sense of familiarity. Albert Gray hailed the Menlo Park area as "Dame Nature's Park": "for miles and miles it seems as if some few score of the notable old country parks had been thrown together and transplanted bodily to this plain."[27] Nineteenth-century American cultural nationalists seeking fresh sources of identity and self-esteem turned to the monuments that Europe lacked, a natural patrimony (embodied in the Sierra Nevada's "big trees") that the Connecticut-born scientist and explorer, Clarence King, dubbed America's "green old age" (1872).[28] This sentiment was clearly weaker among California's nouveau riche.

The forces of cultural colonialism, exploiting the park-like predisposition of the landscape, shaped a place consisting of what Gray described as "parks within a park." He gushed effusively over "graceful white oaks meeting overhead . . . spreading out their arched limbs and drooping foliage till they form gateways that in their grace and elegance far eclipse the marble entrance to London's West End Park, or the crowning triumph of the Champs Elysee."[29] Local boosters reinforced these observations. Charles Nordhoff, a writer commissioned by the Southern Pacific Railroad Company to promote California in the early 1870s, wrote of a party picnicking one February day among spreading oaks at Menlo Park. Among the picnickers, he reported, were some New Yorkers, "rash and irreverent enough to declare that even the Central Park was never so lovely as this little piece of Nature's own landscape-gardening."[30] Visitors to California were just as attracted to places where they saw Nature imitating art as they were drawn to scenes where Nature was viewed as raw and untouched by humanity.

Landscape and environmental historians have usually argued that American taste makers rejected the pastoral, the simply picturesque and the beautiful, for the wild sublime. The role of the aesthetic of the pastoral in molding American attitudes to wild places has been under-appreci-

ated.[31] A typically sublime response to landscape was the shudder of delicious terror that coursed through body and mind in the awesome presence of ungovernable nature's grandeur, immensity and raw power—the terrible beauty of a waterfall, chasm or sharp mountain peak (especially during a storm). The pastoral or picturesque response involved softer emotions, suffusing the observer with a soothing glow. This tranquil feeling was typically engendered by the verdant, gently rolling countryside of England, where nature presented itself in garden-parks on a more modest scale and its more domestic aspect was foremost—the known rather than the unknown, the friendly rather than the humbling.

The influence of the pastoral—the celebration of the merely beautiful, if you like—is powerfully illustrated by the landscape perceptions of Frederick Law Olmsted, who became late nineteenth-century America's leading landscape architect. Olmsted is best known as the designer of New York City's Central Park, a project inspired by Birkenhead Park, a new amenity for city dwellers of all classes in industrial northern England. Olmsted visited what he called "this People's Garden" (located across the River Mersey from Liverpool, and designed along the lines of an eighteenth-century country estate) at the start of his walking tour of England and Wales during the early summer of 1850, when in his late twenties. His delight in the "Merrie England" he found in bucolic counties such as Cheshire and Shropshire, at their most alluring ("green, dripping, glistening, gorgeous!") in "sunny, leafy, blooming May," radiated from the pages of his subsequent book.[32]

Olmsted (born and raised in well-watered, leafy Connecticut) spent a few years in California in the mid-1860s. In a gold-mining region of the Sierra foothills, he managed the Mariposa Estate, which, he pointed out, was second only to New Almaden as the biggest mining investment in the state. He also helped secure the congressional legislation that set aside nearby Yosemite Valley as a state park. Yet even the physical environment of the Sierra Nevada was filtered through his thoroughly pastoral, decidedly English tastes. He served as chairman of the state commission mandated to formulate a management policy for the new park, and his preliminary report (1865) betrays a preference for the near and the domestic over the more distant, wild, and sublime. Olmsted denied that there was anything "strange or exotic" about the trees and plants, asserting that the features of the valley's "tranquil" and lush meadows and "playful" streams were "not readily distinguished from those most common in the landscapes of the Eastern States or the midland counties of England. The stream is such a one as Shakespeare delighted in, and brings pleasing reminiscences to the traveller of the Avon or the upper Thames."[33]

Yet Olmsted's abiding love of the English (and Welsh) countryside was tempered by his regret that so much of it was confined within huge private estates. His initial, purely aesthetic response to a Welsh castle and its imposing grounds (Powis, visited in 1850) was quickly modified by a social critique that anticipated Robert Blatchford's in *Merrie England*: "Is it right and best that this should be for the few, the very few of us?"[34] Beauty and splendor, in his view, were largely worthless unless widely accessible.

Exasperated by the "barbarism" of frontier life on the Mariposa Estate, Olmsted declared "I wish I could live in England."[35] Yet his aforementioned report on Yosemite, fifteen years after his walking tour of England and Wales, continued the critique of British landownership sparked by his visit to Powis.

> The enjoyment of the choicest natural scenes in the country [England and Wales] and the means of recreation connected with them is thus a monopoly . . . of a very few, very rich people. . . . Thus without means . . . by government to withhold them from the grasp of individuals, all places favorable in scenery to the recreation of the mind and body will be closed against the great body of the people.[36]

This lithograph by C. L. Smith, printed in 1876, perfectly combines the images of mine and garden. Despite the belching smokestacks, there's an air of calm, tidiness, and cleanliness that belies the reality of mining. Like figures in a well-tended garden, a mule train winds its way down the hill to the reduction works while two gentlemen relax in the sylvan setting.
Robert B. Honeyman, Jr., Collection of Early Californian and Western American Pictorial Material, the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

The United States supposedly represented a democratic alternative. But Olmsted wanted places such as Yosemite Valley to remain in public ownership, accessible to "the great body of the people," because so much prime scenic land in America—especially close to cities—was being appropriated by a new feudal class of industrialists. Victorian England had reserved some public areas within its cities by the 1840s. Yet in the United States, just about the only places to which city folk could retreat were cemeteries.[37] Accounts of the making of American supposedly democratic national parks have also been recast as sagas of dispossession and exclusion: the latest accounts of "crown jewel" parks like Yosemite, Yellowstone, and Glacier dwell on the production of empty recreational spaces through the eviction of the indigenous inhabitants of working landscapes.[38]

Meanwhile, historians of the eighteenth-century English landscape focus on the connections between the fashioning of great estates and the enclosure of common lands. Thirty years ago, Raymond Williams reflected on the cruel sham involved in the construction of an idealized communal landscape within these garden-parks. The relocation of human habitations (sometimes entire villages) beyond visibility (also all evidence of work) lent an air of informal pastoralism. This impression was enhanced by the sunken fence (or wall) hidden in a ditch: this surreptitious device, known as a "ha-ha," set the lawns in front of the stately home apart from rougher pastureland of the park that was grazed by cattle, sheep, or deer. This kept grazing animals off the lawn without spoiling the illusion of a shared landscape without boundaries.[39] As the English gentry removed their fences and walls in conformity with the last word in landscape aesthetics, actual fences and walls were going up

beyond parkland boundaries as the authentic commons and the old communal landscape of feudalism disintegrated.[40]

While the establishment of the Menlo Park estates entailed the eviction of the Mexican rancheros, it did not involve the ejection of peasants deeply rooted in local soil (and the area's indigenous peoples were long gone). Nor were these parks as socially inaccessible as their English counterparts. In fact, when meeting with representatives of the Menlo Park Anti-Chinese Association in 1886, the then-owner of the former Barron Estate, Timothy Hopkins, defended his Chinese gardeners not least on the grounds that the result of their work was "mere pleasure . . . anybody can come along and look."[41] Yet the occasional genteel visitor (like the Reverend Wood) was one thing; picnicking members of the general public another entirely. Miners and their families from New Almaden, though sorely in need of pastoral respite, were unlikely to visit. And if they had tried to come, it is unlikely they would have been made welcome.

HE MINE: INHALING BEAUTY AND DEATH

Mining exploits the earth itself and those who extract the ore. The occasional individual working a creek with a pick, shovel, and tin pan (the placer method) might strike pay dirt during the early days in California's Mother Lode—the stuff of "Forty-Niner" legend. However—especially in the northern mines—the easier pickings were quickly exhausted and heavily capitalized corporate mining ventures muscled in and miners declined into wage workers. Large-scale technologies that were eventually adopted, notably the hydraulic method, inflicted environmental devastation far beyond the capacities of placer miners. The study of mining and its residual ghost towns is a particularly fruitful way to marry environmental and social histories because it penetrates to the bedrock of the experience of conquest in the American West. "No industry had a greater impact," asserts Patricia Limerick. Mining, she continues, "set a mood that has never disappeared from the West: the attitude of extractive industry—get in, get rich, get out."[42]

Mining often represented the grinding edge of urban and industrial intrusion in frontier regions. In the early 1990s, the environmental historian William Cronon visited a remote mining landscape in south-central Alaska. The Kennecott mine once exploited the world's richest vein of copper but was abandoned in 1938, along with the company town of McCarthy, after nearly four decades. Cronon's trip inspired an essay that shows how local history, properly contextualized, improves our general understanding of the phenomenon of sudden and profound environmental change. Through the story of Kennecott, he reveals "the paths out of town—the connections between this lonely place and the rest of the world."[43] Metaphorically speaking, he links a minor, infrequently traveled trail apparently leading

Nearly two thousand men representing twenty-eight nationalities worked for the New Almaden mine at the height of operations in 1864. The largest single groups were Mexican and Cornish and lived in the strictly segregated communities of Spanishtown and Englishtown. Set just a few hundred meters apart, these communities were served by their own schools, churches, and cemeteries. Spanishtown occupied a particularly exposed and cramped site, devoid of soil and shade trees.

"Village des Mineurs, New Almaden, California," Paul Emmert, pencil drawing, the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

nowhere in particular to the national highway system. A fairly autonomous local story is thrust into a wider world through the reassessment of copper's value. The uses for copper of the local Ahtna Indians were confined to weaponry, tools, and jewelry. With electrification of the nation's burgeoning cities far beyond Alaska, however, copper wire's ability to conduct electric current imposed an entirely fresh value on the mineral.[44]

The study of New Almaden exposes a similar story. The Ohlone Indians who lived in this area had just one use for quicksilver: mixed with grease, the red cinnabar ore that contained the quicksilver furnished a source of vermilion face paint, a valuable substance that they traded up and down the Pacific coast. Once more, Euro-Americans radically reappraised the value of a mineral, supplying another example of metropolitan pressures exerted on a relatively self-contained local scene.[45] Kennecott and New Almaden were similar in another way too. There was no equivalent in the history of either mine to the egalitarian first phase of California's placer gold mining (however fleeting and restricted to Anglo-American males its existence may have been).[46] Both were thoroughly corporate enterprises from the start.

In the 1860s, two articles based on visits to New Almaden appeared in the East Coast periodical, *Harper's Magazine*. Conventional aesthetics associated with landscapes of leisure flavored both accounts. Ascending the mile and a half to the top of Mine Hill, the first author (William Wells, who visited and wrote in 1857) deployed the language of the genteel excursionist to describe the view from the road, which wound "romantically up a gentle ascent," with "picturesque" vistas of the valley to the west. Not that Wells had the road all to himself. Descending past him, headed for the reduction works, were mule-drawn wagons driven by wage workers, loaded with ore dug from

tunnels that penetrated over a thousand feet into the hillsides.[47] The second writer (J. Ross Browne who visited and wrote in 1865) was similarly struck by "the glorious drive up the mountains, over a road scarcely surpassed for scenic effect by the winding turnpikes of Switzerland." He even claimed that the breathtaking views moved visitors (especially newlyweds) to spout the poetry of Byron. The romantic haze they cast over the mountains by no means precluded a triumphalist tone celebrating the industrial progress facilitated by the mine that, in Browne's phrase, had "redeemed [California] from the sway of the nomadic tribes and rendered [it] available to the uses of civilized man."[48]

Nevertheless, this intoxicating brew of romanticism and manifest destiny did not entirely blind the visitors to the damage inflicted by mining in what was, after all, primarily a landscape of labor. Referring to the ore reduction furnaces at the base of Mine Hill, Wells noted that:

> Despite the lofty chimneys and the close attention that has been devoted to the secret of effectually condensing the volatile matter, its escape from the chimneys withers all green things around. Every tree on the mountainside above the works is dead and some of more sensitive natures farther removed exhibit the influence of the poison in their shrunken and blanched foliage.

Well-scrubbed miners and the upper echelons of ocal society bless the opening of a new mine in his picturesque landscape complete with belching chimneys and denuded slopes.

Blessing of the Enrequita Mine, dedicated 1859. New Almaden, California, Alexander Edouart, oil painting on canvas, the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

He also commented that cattle in the immediate vicinity sickened and became salivated and that a spring near the reduction works was off-limits to workers. Yet he was not unduly alarmed, claiming that "these effects do not extend to any great distance." He also recorded the denuded condition of nearby hills, their trees having been cut for mine supports and to fuel the ore reduction furnaces (a lunar-like bareness that Watkins's bleak photographs captured).[49]

Wells was more concerned than Browne about the welfare of the furnace workers, whose job was so injurious they could only work there one week out of four: "Pale, cadaverous faces and leaden eyes are the consequence of even these short spells," he reported, pointing out solemnly that "any length of time continued at this labor effectually shortens life and impregnates the system with mercury . . . to such a degree is the air filled with the volatile poison, that gold coins and watches on the persons of those engaged about the furnace become galvanized and turn white." "In such an atmosphere," he concluded, "one would seem to inhale death with every respiration." In a brief departure from his overall sanguinity and approving noises regarding the ubiquity of "the most cheering evidences of progress and prosperity," Browne also remarked on the "noxious odor" at the reduction works that had a "very pernicious effect upon the nervous system," with workers "liable to palsy, vertigo, and other disorders of the brain."[50]

These impressions were closely mirrored by those of a British visitor, John Keast Lord, naturalist to the British North American Boundary Commission. Lord was despatched south to San Francisco in 1860 to procure pack mules. Finding himself with "nothing particular to do" while making financial arrangements, he headed (naturally) for New Almaden. He, too, found the scenery en route to the mine "indescribably picturesque." And he commented on the brutal, often fatal work performed by Mexicans who brought the ore up on their backs, as well as the health hazards faced by the smelters. But Lord

also reported great improvements resulting from the installation of a long flue and very tall chimney stack, thanks to which, vegetation "only suffers immediately around the chimney, and even there not to any alarming degree." On the whole, he concluded, the workers "enjoy very good health, and are admirably cared for."[51]

Wells, Browne, and Lord may strike us as rather nonchalant in their appraisal of the hazards of mining. Limerick stresses the tension between mining, a form of work fraught with dangers, and the American West's traditional appeal to those whose who perceived the environment through the lens of leisure and health. With its dry mountain and desert air, the region was an attractive place for the affluent to recuperate and convalesce. But if some people regained their health in the West, many others lost theirs.[52] Average life expectancy for a furnace worker at New Almaden was forty-five years. The nearest medical assistance in 1870 was ten miles away in San Jose (involving a round trip of three to four hours for a doctor). Barron's lavish provision and use of water for his lawns and flowers contrasts starkly with its restricted availability for human consumption in the hillside and hilltop villages that housed the miners, set amidst slag heaps and deeply gashed raw red earth. Their only source was the water barrels that burros hauled up on their backs from springs in the valley. Nearly two thousand men representing twenty-eight nationalities worked for Barron's company at the height of operations in 1864. The largest single groups were Mexican and Cornish and lived in the strictly segregated communities of Spanishtown and Englishtown. Set just a few hundred meters apart, these communities were served by their own schools, churches, and cemeteries.[53] Spanishtown occupied a particularly exposed and cramped site, devoid of soil and shade trees.

Before embarking on his tour of the mines, Browne savored an entirely different scene cheek-by-jowl in the valley at the Casa Grande. The "big house," built by Barron's company in 1854, was a classic revival-style mansion that served as the mine manager's official residence. It was set in six acres of gardens landscaped by John McLaren who was later involved in the design of San Francisco's Golden Gate Park (and became its superintendent). These included terraced lawns and a man-made lagoon for boating and swimming. Browne was highly receptive to this pastoral haven of peace and prosperity, which, for him, exuded the charm of the Old South:

> The eye delights to rest upon such a scene of rural comfort, which presents not only the rarest natural beauties but the highest evidences of cultivated taste. Flowers of rich and variegated hues bloom in the gardens, graveled walks traverse the orchards and graperies, and wind through the umbrageous groves that fringe the Alamitos [Creek]. The music of rippling waters chimes pleasantly with the singing of birds and the happy voices of children. An air of luxury and refinement pervades the premises.[54]

Had he experienced the edenic bliss of Casa Grande for the first time after his trip up to the mines rather than prior to setting out, Browne might have been more inclined to ponder the chasm between these adjacent landscapes of labor and leisure. Assuming that he was struck by the contrast, he did not bother to mention it in his account. Mine owners and officials across the American West could hardly have been oblivious to the dramatic divergence between landscapes of labor and landscapes of leisure. Yet they, too, were largely unmoved by the gulf. Take the example of Butte, Montana, where a copper king responded with a token gesture. Gray and yellow slag heaps and cavernous open-cast pits —terraced craters a mile wide and 1,800 feet deep—dominated Butte's notorious industrial landscape. (Today, Butte has the dubious distinction of boasting the nation's biggest Superfund toxic clean-up site.[55]) In 1899, William Clark spent a million dollars on a 21-acre outdoor amusement park nearby. One of the biggest attractions of Columbia Gardens was a huge bed of

85,000 pansies. These and the park's other floral specimens were just about the only living things within easy reach of Butte. On special days, Clark graciously allowed the children of miners to pick the flowers.[56]

At New Almaden, the bosses took the grim working conditions of the quicksilver miners and the squalid conditions in which they and their families lived more seriously. As good paternalists, they were afraid that the degraded environment would brutalize men who worked ten to twelve-hour shifts, six days a week. In their view, the woeful setting encouraged lawlessness and rowdy, unwholesome pursuits.

On both sides of the Atlantic, proponents of public parks close to places of work, especially in cities, regarded accessible open spaces as a restorative tonic for harrowed and cramped bodies and spirits. In addition, however, to giving the urban masses what Olmsted, the leading American advocate of urban public parks, called "a sense of enlarged freedom," he and his compatriots also regarded parks as a "refining influence." They offered an ennobling alternative to grog shops and "worse places."[57] As Gunther Barth has explained, nineteenth-century public parks were designed to cultivate people's "better nature in their communion with nature"[58] (and, insofar as the comportment of park users was closely monitored and codes of proper behavior strictly enforced by park authorities, these urban public parks were landscapes of power too).

The provision of public parks and recreation for those who did not own property or land is a topic that supplies another opportunity to position New Almaden's history within a broader national picture. Nobody suggested a massive bed of pansies to ennoble the quicksilver miners—let alone the establishment of a public park for rest, recuperation and recreation. Sharing Olmsted's views, however, on the individual and societal benefits of a pleasant physical environment was A. C. Innes, a long-serving judge in the district encompassing the New Almaden mining community. Innes first toiled in the mercury mines in 1869, but advanced rapidly to the position of chief engineer, eventually serving as a justice of the peace in mining communities across the Southwest. In his memoirs (1918) and a later interview with a local reporter, Innes recorded his impressions of the mining camps in 1869. He recalled that the "mode of life" in Spanishtown was "Mexican: its morals disgustingly so."

Landscape and environmental historians have usually argued that American taste makers rejected the pastoral, the simply picturesque, and the beautiful for the wild sublime. The role of the aesthetic of the pastoral in molding American attitudes to wild places has been under-appreciated.

This overt nativism was somewhat modified by his recollection that "the Mexican camp, from its bleak and exposed position, coupled with a complete absence of soil, had few natural advantages," noting the absence of "wide-spreading trees with grateful shade to induce quiet and repose among its turbulent dwellers. . . . With the general aspects of Nature so unfriendly and forbidding," he reasoned, "with absolutely nothing in their whole environment that would in the remotest degree tend to call up their finer impulses, it is not surprising that their pent-up feelings found relief in a life of unbridled license."[59]

Another official who took an interest in the living conditions of his workforce was James B. Randol, a thirty-year-old New Yorker who took over as New Almaden's general manager in 1870 (serving in this capacity until 1892). The mining camps —scene of frequent homicides and, allegedly, a refuge for banditti and a hotbed of "underground orgies"—were exactly the sort of provisional

human habitation that Olmsted had in mind when he bewailed the absence of civilized life in California in the mid-1860s.[60] Randol, who presided over mining's heyday at New Almaden, was determined to transform Englishtown and Spanish-

The provision of public parks and recreation for those who did not own property or land is a topic that supplies another opportunity to position New Almaden's history within a broader national picture.

town into respectable communities. His strategy for uplifting the miners and their families entailed running gamblers, liquor peddlers, and whores out of town, also the introduction of an affordable health plan to finance a resident doctor and dentist. He also installed an intricate network of pipes to pump water up from the valley to every dwelling in the mining towns (a project that rivalled Barron's irrigation scheme in its scale and complexity). Another key element was the transfer of plants, shrubs, and trees "garnered from the four quarters of the earth" from his garden at Casa Grande to the mining cities on the hill.[61]

Locating this information about Randol's botanical philanthropy in archival records in the summer of 1999 cleared up something that had puzzled me since I had hiked, a few weeks earlier, up the steep road taken by those Victorian gentlemen who had recorded their experiences for *Harper's*. The trail winds up Mine Hill through native scrub oak, blue oak, coyote brush, manzanita, laurel, and bayberry. On reaching the remains of Englishtown, though, I was astonished to encounter elm, poplar, palm, eucalyptus, cottonwood, and other incongruous shade trees as well as apple and pear, not to mention the ubiquitous golden blooms of the non-native Scotch broom. After Englishtown was abandoned by its six thousand inhabitants in 1912 when mining on Mine Hill ceased, the small gardens of wooden cottages, depicted as tidy and white picket fenced in early twentieth-century photographs, were briskly reclaimed by the forces of untamed nature. As a local journalist wrote in 1928, the year after the New Almaden Corporation declared bankruptcy: "panther, skunk, wood-rat and other wild animals have made the yards their habitation. A couple of palms, some eucalypti and a cedar tree or two bear mute evidence of man's former habitation."[62]

Another journalist who visited the deserted villages that same year was more impressed by the legacy of exotic flora, remarking that this "verdant oasis" enhanced a rather drab and commonplace native scene.[63] Yet not all who wrote about the landscape in this part of California considered the familiar indigenous features wanting in appeal. Olmsted, while clearly aware of New Almaden's operations while managing the Mariposa Estate, never visited its hills and canyons. But he did directly experience, and comment on, the area encompassing the two places that feature in this essay. Cultivating people's better nature through contact with nature, as far as Olmsted was concerned, did not necessarily require a nature that was better than that which was already available. Despite his fondness for the English landscape (and notwithstanding his enthusiasm for the suburban lawn in temperate regions of the United States), Olmsted detested the great estates of Menlo Park that he toured in the winter of 1865. In his view, they were an alien superimposition on the local climate and environment as well as the national democratic ethos. In his Californian designs (beginning with Oakland's Mountain View Cemetery), Olmsted was keen to adapt to existing physical capabilities. When Senator Leland Stanford (who hailed from New York state) commissioned him to design a campus at Palo Alto in 1886, he wanted, to quote Olmsted, "New England trees and turf."[64] Olmsted eventually persuaded Stanford that this style was inappropriate—hence the paved quadrangle of the old court.

Olmsted was also hired to plan a park for what he regarded as the brash, adolescent city of San Francisco. Scandalized by the shortage of places for "healthful recreation"—a "barbarous and barbarizing" situation in his view—he stressed that the only spot to which ordinary families could repair was a bleak local burial ground.[65] Bothered by the shortage of water in the area, his report (1866) recommended against the siting of a large park that mimicked Central Park and London's public parks, with their "spreading trees and great expanses of turf," way out west among the sand dunes, chill winds, and fog. But Olmsted was largely isolated in his sensitivity to local conditions. The city fathers ignored his advice, determined to manufacture what Gray Brechin calls "the illusion of Sussex in the Sahara."[66]

Today, as the Southwest leads American regions in demographic growth, the firm preference for grass demonstrated by Barron at the Casa Grande and by San Francisco's city fathers retains its grip over many rapidly proliferating "New Western" communities. As the region's population has expanded over the past few decades, so has the area covered by lawn. Due to water restrictions, the "xeriscape" garden composed of drought-tolerant native plants is gaining ground in certain communities, such as Santa Barbara and Sunbelt cities like Tucson, Arizona. Nevertheless, sprinkler systems—if more sophisticated than the domestic irrigation technology pioneered by William Barron—remain the lifeblood of millions of suburban patches of moisture guzzling, English-style greensward, whether in Menlo Park or the nation's fastest growing metropolitan area, Las Vegas. Patricia Mulroy, chief of the Southern Nevada Water Authority, has denied (1998) that the casinos with their elaborate and extravagant water features are responsible for Las Vegas' profound thirst (she claims they use recycled shower water).[67] To blame is the lawn or, to put it another way, those ordinary Las Vegans who, whether of English ancestry or not, cannot imagine Sundays without mowing a lawn the consistency of a thick pile carpet.

LANDSCAPES OF LEISURE AND LABOR INVERTED

This essay has tried to accomplish a number of things. First, to draw attention to an important but neglected aspect of California's history—the New Almaden quicksilver mine. Second, to flesh out the connections between two closely related but rarely linked places. Third, to plug this local history into a wider theoretical and historiographical landscape provided by the likes of Raymond Williams and William Cronon. In particular in this regard, I have tried to rise to Alan Taylor's challenge to environmental historians to become better social historians. Fourth, I have tried to show that American tastes in landscape and nature are sometimes not that dissimilar to English proclivities. But to finish, I want to return to the persisting link between my paired garden and mine, a relationship that is no less close now for being ironic rather than tangible.

Cycles of boom and bust have been the leitmotif of the West's economy since the California Gold Rush. The latest human rush to the region, exemplified by the furious expansion of Las Vegas but also illustrated by the swelling population of such Silicon Valley communities as Menlo Park, contrasts with an episode such as the comprehensive depopulation of New Almaden nearly a century ago.[68] Following the closure of the main mining operations and exodus from the mining villages in 1912, many of the structures that remained standing by the 1930s were pulled down by the various companies of the Civilian Conservation Corps that were based at Englishtown between 1933 and 1939.[69] In 1912, mining shifted to a new shaft at Senator Mine, being confined to this single mine until the mining company folded. After 1928, mining continued on a limited scale under a variety of small operators. By 1948, however, activities had more or less ceased, and locals felt that a pastoral calm had settled over an area that had reverted to range land, "whereon grazing cattle chewed their cud in peaceful solitude, disturbed only by an occasional prowling mountain lion."[70] The relics of the mining land-

scape were designated a National Historic Landmark District in 1963, and absorbed into a 3,600-acre county park in 1976, the year the last mining operations shut down.

In a neat reversal of roles, the Barron Estate's landscape of leisure has become a site of daily living and work for thousands of people. In addition to extensive residential areas (one of them called Barron Park), this new landscape contains such civic amenities as the Menlo Park Civic Center (which includes the library in which I sat investigating the Barron Estate). The old estate landscape is also dotted with office complexes, among them the Stanford Research Institute, which moved off campus onto the former Barron lands a year after it was established in 1946.

The two best-known places of work have become local institutions of region-wide renown. Mirroring a widespread post-1945 phenomenon—the shift from the cities to the suburbs—the headquarters of *Sunset*, the West Coast's premier "lifestyle" magazine (first published in 1898), re-located from downtown San Francisco to a site within the former Barron Estate in 1951 (the magazine's expanding circulation keeping pace with Menlo Park's population, which doubled during the 1950s).[71] *Sunset* has been dedicated to "home and outdoor life of the West" since 1928. Over the decades, the staple features of a publication subtitled *The Magazine of Western Living* have been articles on homes, gardens, landscaping, leisure pursuits and local history (including, appropriately, from this essay's standpoint, a few pieces on lawn care—and New Almaden).[72] Gardening books tailored to far-western climates, environments, and tastes are another distinctive product of the *Sunset* publishing house. The other noteworthy place of work situated on the Barron lands, and which recently celebrated its fiftieth anniversary (2004), is the far western headquarters of the U.S. Geological Survey. The Western Region Center, which consolidated a host of operations widely scattered across the West, opened the first of a cluster of buildings in January 1954.[73]

Despite this reversal of roles, the former landscape of leisure has not been entirely overridden. Menlo Park is dotted with immaculate suburban lawns, and a much larger green space southeast of the Civic Center is occupied by playing fields and other leisure facilities such as tennis courts (the swimming pool and gym are survivals of the army hospital that occupied this site during the Second World War). The ranch-style head-

'ACING PAGE: FAR LEFT: *In a neat reversal of roles, he Barron Estate's landscape of leisure has become a ite of daily living and work for thousands of people. n addition to extensive residential areas (one of hem called Barron Park), this new landscape con- ains such civic amenities as the far western head- uarters of the U.S. Geological Survey. The Western Region Center, which consolidated a host of opera- ions widely scattered across the West, opened the rst of a cluster of buildings in January 1954.*

'ACING PAGE: LEFT: *Building 3 of the Western Region Center of the U.S. Geological Survey at the ime of its dedication in 1959.*

.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

'HIS PAGE: RIGHT: *Mrs. McParland's fourth-grade lass, Barron Park School, 1951.*

ALTO ALTO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

quarters of *Sunset* magazine sits within its own seven-acre estate. These grounds include fetching gardens divided into six Western climatic zones ranging from the Pacific Northwest to the California desert that the magazine's gardening experts helped design. More important from the standpoint of this essay is the imposing, impeccable lawn of over an acre—almost Barronian in its dimensions—representing the typical suburban gardener's wildest dream come true. The apricot and prune trees on the Geological Survey's sixteen-acre campus are a more modest reminder of the past—the remains of the extensive orchards that one of the Barron Estate's subsequent owners planted. The grounds also host an arboretum famous among local plant lovers for its collections of camellias and rhododendrons.

Meanwhile, the mine to the south that provided the means to create the Barron Estate has become re-naturalized and converted wholesale into a 3,600-acre place of recreation known as the New Almaden Quicksilver County Park.[74] The slag heaps and stump-studded slopes that glare out from 1920s photographs have become substantially re-vegetated. In a brochure available at the park's various entry points the Santa Clara County Department of Parks and Recreation welcomes you to "History and Beauty." The restored Powder House, where black blasting powder was stored, represents "History" on the brochure's cover while a black-tailed deer among trees symbolizes "Beauty." Some visitors (among them, no doubt, residents of Menlo Park) come to prowl around the decaying cemeteries and other material evidence of the area's mining past. But the majority of users—who reflect the area's remarkable racial and ethnic diversity—are attracted by Nature's beauty, notably the park's sixty-two miles of hiking, riding, and biking trails.

New Almaden Quicksilver County Park illustrates a region-wide phenomenon: the shift over the past quarter of a century from the "Old West" to the "New West." The transformation of a landscape of labor rooted in the extraction of natural resources such as copper and quicksilver into a landscape of leisure consisting of ski lifts, mountain bike rental stores, and mining heritage sites.[75] The park is alive with a mix of lone walkers and entire Asian American family groups of twenty or more taking brisk daily constitutionals in the cool fog of early morning or the invigorating air of evening when the sun has sunk behind the foothills of the coastal range.

By 1948 mining operations had ceased in New Almaden, and the operation became part of New Almaden Quicksilver County Park in 1976. This landscape of labor is now one of leisure, and the park illustrates a region-wide phenomenon: the shift over the past quarter of a century from the "Old West" to the "New West" and the transformation of a landscape of labor rooted in the extraction of natural resources such as copper and quicksilver into a landscape of leisure consisting of ski lifts, mountain bike rental stores, and mining heritage sites.

Photograph by © G. Dan Mitchell.

Hiking the Bull Run Mine Trail at twilight, my companion and I look out for rattlesnakes coiled on the path ahead and scan the darkening trees and slopes for signs of the mountain lions (cougars) that the posters at the trail head at the end of McAbee Road, San Jose, warn visitors to watch out for. As the lions are forced out of surrounding areas by creeping suburbanization, the frequency of encounters between hikers and lions has been increasing in the park over the past few years—especially in summer when the lions descend into the lower regions to locate scarce water supplies. This savage presence and the park's wild look might appear to lend weight to the belief that—even in this increasingly congested part of California with its semi-permanent freeway gridlock and subdivisions marching relentlessly up the rugged hillsides above Silicon Valley—the natural world of the American West (in Donald Worster's words) is "too wild really to tame, too old to change, too large to reduce to a mere human scale."[76]

But Quicksilver Park encompasses dangers other —and greater—than poisonous snakes and large furry predators, suggesting that we take a harder look at the apparent ephemerality of the Euro-American conquest of the natural world in the American West. An insidious toxic inheritance persists here alongside the more benign human legacy of old buildings and mining structures. Though fishing is allowed in the park's two reservoirs, signs posted by the Santa Clara County Health Department warn you not to eat your contaminated catch; bacteria have converted mercury-bearing sediments into methyl mercury, absorbed, in turn, by aquatic plants and fish.[77]

Notwithstanding the sinister heritage that lingers here (as at Butte and other former Western mining sites), Quicksilver Park illustrates a trend in American thinking about the relationship between nature and culture over the past quarter century (not least that of environmental historians). With its ghostly human presence and the material evidence of exotic vegetation and old mining structures (many of the latter far from conventionally pretty), this integrated landscape of labor and of leisure demonstrates that the Euro-American impact on the non-human world of nature is not invariably and irrevocably destructive. A place can be enriched as well as impoverished by its human past, however unruly.

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A Road as a Route and Place:

The Evolution and Transformation of the Arroyo Seco Parkw

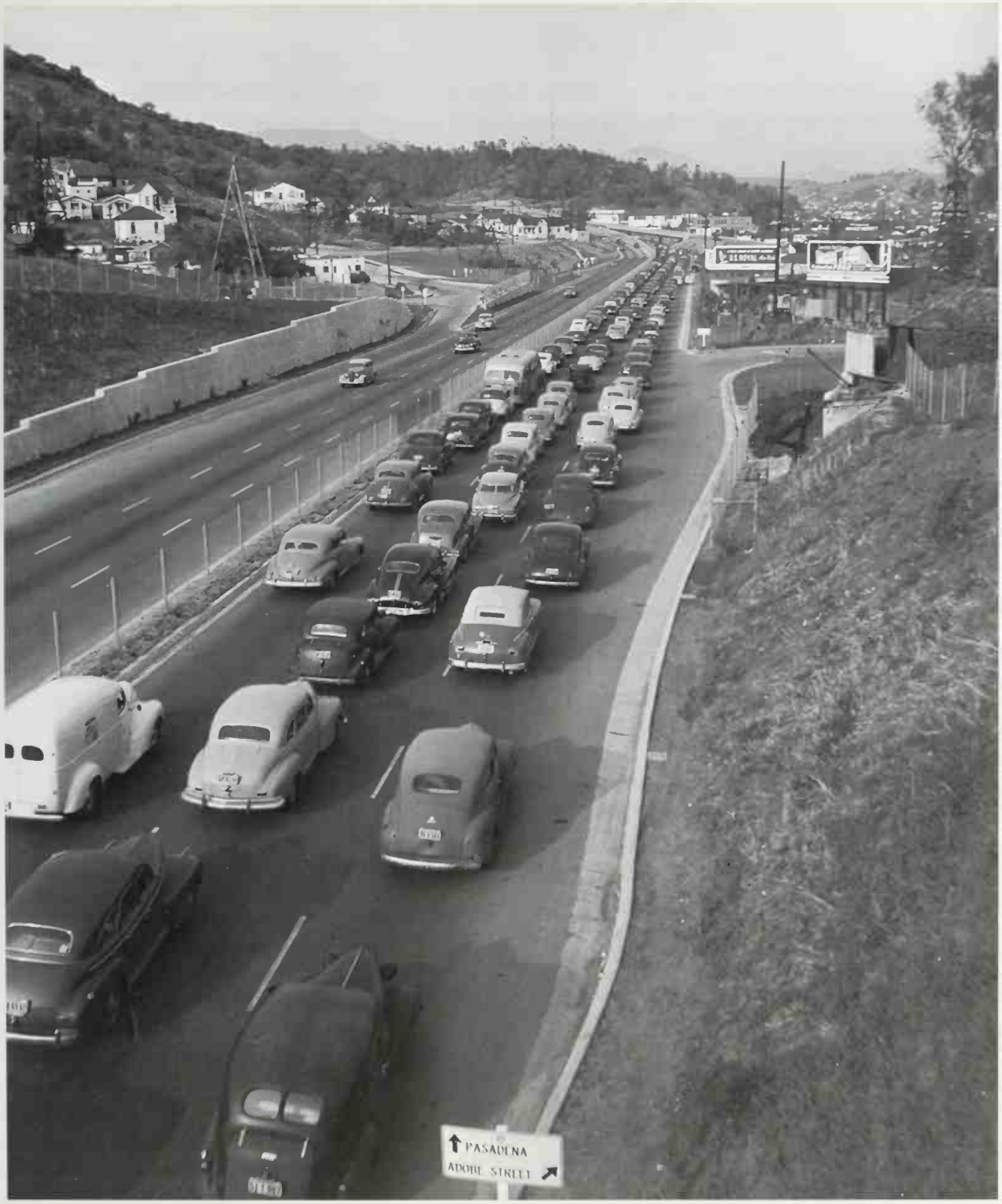
By Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris and Robert Gottlieb

Now I know how a package feels when it gets an unobstructed ride through a chute to the shipping department. I've just made a run out to Pasadena on the completed Arroyo Seco Parkway . . . . From the relatively narrow Figueroa tunnels you immediately find yourself launched like a speedboat in a calm, spacious, divided channel. Channel is the word, too, for it's in the arroyo, below the level of traffic-tormented streets. No brazen pedestrians nor kids riding bikes with their arms folded! No cross streets with too-bold or too-timid drivers jutting their radiators into your path. And no wonder I made it from Elysian Park to Broadway and Glenarm Street in Pasadena in 10 minutes without edging over a conservative 45 miles an hour (Westways, *January 1941*).[1]

If the engineers wish to rhapsodize over the quaint historic qualities of the Arroyo Seco Parkway, they should scrape up the whole miserable concrete mess and put it in the freeway museum. That highway has been obsolete for 25 years: It's dangerous and inadequate. The transition from the 110 north to the I-5 north is one of the worst freeway bottlenecks in the state (Los Angeles Times, *July 31, 1999*).[2]

These two statements about the Arroyo Seco Parkway (now known as I-110, the Pasadena Freeway) are separated by half a century and a sea of difference in the authors' perception of the same roadway. Nevertheless, they epitomize eloquently the rise and fall of urban parkways. A predecessor of the modern freeway and a celebrated transportation model of the early twentieth century, the urban parkway has fallen on difficult times. Designed for uninterrupted and pleasurable driving through parklike surroundings and a visual connection to the communities the driver passed through, parkways were once hailed as marvels of transportation innovation and design, and as safe and efficient alternatives to nonlimited access arterials and boulevards. By the 1950s, however, the goals of pleasurable driving and visual connection had progressively faded in favor of engineering efficiency and higher capacity use. In the meantime, existing parkways became tangled in a web of problems. Originally designed for fewer cars at lower speeds, parkways such as the Arroyo Seco Parkway had to accommodate significant increases in vehicles at much higher speeds. This led to traffic congestion (the ten-minute trip of 1941 along the Arroyo Seco might now take as long as forty minutes), bottlenecks, and a major increase in traffic accidents.

Today, the Arroyo Seco Parkway stands as a representative example of an urban parkway still in use but fraught with problems due to the disjuncture between its original conception and ultimate evolution. These changes also symbolize some of the problems and challenges in a freeway-centered transportation system. In what follows we will revisit the history and goals of early parkways, focusing in particular on the "first freeway of the West," the celebrated Arroyo Seco Parkway. We will examine the forces that brought about its painful evolution and transformation from a visually appealing roadway to an accident-ridden freeway. Drawing from the specific example of the Arroyo Seco Parkway, our investigation will trace the change of the parkway model over



Traffic on the Arroyo Seco Parkway during evening rush hour in 1948. The first leg of the parkway was completed in 1939 to connect downtown Los Angeles with Pasadena. Transportation efficiency and aesthetic delight were considered inseparable goals of parkway design, which in the early twentieth century was described as "bioengineering"—a marriage of architecture, landscaping, and civil engineering in a three-dimensional design. Little remains today of the efficiency or beauty on the modern I-110/Pasadena Freeway.

Automobile Club of Southern California.

time. At the core of our discussion lies the desire to examine if early parkways have indeed become "dinosaurs," obsolete roadways incapable of accommodating contemporary traffic demands, or if they can be revamped and reclaimed as successful elements of an integrated urban transportation network.

THE EARLY DAYS: GENESIS AND EVOLUTION OF URBAN PARKWAYS

The first use of the word *parkway* in the American context was made before the advent of the automobile. Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux, in a report to the Board of Commissioners of Prospect Park in Brooklyn, New York, in 1866 recommended the addition of a parkway to the plans for the park, a road for private carriages that made its way through rows of trees planted along its sides.[3] Inspired by the celebrated landscaped boulevards of Paris and Berlin, Olmsted and Vaux viewed parkways as carriageways, surrounded and contained by the park and designed for pleasure riding.[4] Their first parkways, Eastern and Ocean parkways, provided carriage owners pleasant connections to and from Prospect Park, without the disruptions of crowded city streets.[5]

For such early landscape architects as Olmsted and Vaux the term *parkway* connoted a strip of land of varying width, depending on immediate topographical conditions, which contained a roadway passing through parklike or landscaped surroundings. The roadway was meant for a comfortable and pleasurable ride; thus, the alignment was one of gentle curves, designed for speeds in keeping with the times that also allowed a visual connection to the surrounding landscape.[6] An important provision was that abutting property owners had no right of access over the parkway strip.

Pleasure parkways "designed with express reference to the pleasure with which they may be used for walking, riding, and the driving of carriages," were built in Boston and in New York's Central Park.[7] Olmsted and Vaux's ideas for parkways were thoroughly described in their 1868 reports for Lakeshore Park in Buffalo. Parkways were envisioned as "plainly serving, not simply as branches or outworks of the parks with which they connect, but as part of the general street system of the city."[8] Even the "cloverleaf design," later to be frequently used in freeway ramp design,[9] was also proposed by Olmsted: "At the crossings of important streets, the parkways might, for greater convenience in crossing and turning, in the future, be expanded in a circular or elliptical form, and such points would, in the future, offer suitable positions for fountains, statues, trophies and public monuments."[10]

Other landscaped boulevards called parkways were also built in eastern cities for nonfoot carriage, and, with the advent of the automobile, the parkway concept as a specialized roadway was revived and elaborated in various forms.[11] One of these was the concept of the "townless highway" promoted by Benton MacKaye and his colleagues from the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA). MacKaye envisioned a transportation system that separated roads from pedestrians, thus increasing pedestrian-oriented public places in urban areas while connecting city and countryside.[12] The idea of connection to place through the pleasure ride was also central to the townless highway concept as well as the parkway movement as a whole. The first constructed parkway for automobiles along these lines was the Bronx River Parkway in Westchester County, New York, built between 1916 and 1925, and designed to provide leisure driving and recreational opportunities.[13] This parkway was the first to introduce the concept of "limited access" favored by RPAA planners and other parkway advocates. The Bronx River Parkway's great success in combination with a growing number of motorists led to the development of more of these roadways, most notably in New York City where Robert Moses oversaw the construction of several parkways, which were completed between 1934 and 1940.

During the 1930s the modern parkway movement began to expand in other parts of the country with the construction of several federal parkways, such as the Skyline Drive in Virginia, Blue Ridge Parkway in North Carolina and Tennessee, Merritt

Parkway in Connecticut, and others. These first parkways designed for the car followed serpentine routes, which enabled automobiles to flow at uniform speeds through naturalistic landscapes.[14]

During the 1930s Los Angeles planners, aware of the parkway construction in eastern cities, started to envision the creation of "greenbelts across the city"—parkways that would address the region's increasing traffic while at the same time encourage "highway recreation" and "outdoor sightseeing."[15] These ideas were elaborated in Frederick Olmsted, Jr. and Harland Bartholomew's 1930 report for the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, linking parkway development with opportunities to create open spaces and parklands, including along the Arroyo Seco and Los Angeles River watershed from Pasadena to downtown Los Angeles.[16]

After a series of debates regarding feasibility, finances, and transportation and land use goals, the celebrated Arroyo Seco Parkway was commissioned and broke ground on March 21, 1938. Dubbed the "first freeway of the West" by Governor Culbert Olson, the parkway was formally dedicated two years later in 1940.[17]

ARKWAY GOALS

Parkway concepts sought to incorporate the goals of pleasure driving, visual connection, and efficiency (moving large numbers of cars at a continuous speed). Pleasure driving was achieved through the visual qualities of the parkway, which was designed as a serpentine roadway of variable width, well adjusted to topography, and offering views and vistas of the immediate and more distant landscape. In urban areas considerable grading and planting was undertaken to achieve a parklike effect. The visual experience obtained on the parkway was a paramount factor in its planning and design. Views had to be uncluttered, and for this reason billboards and other forms of outdoor advertising were prohibited. At the same time landscaping was utilized to frame views and restore natural appearances. In early parkways of the East only native materials were used for planting, while fencing was "indigenous": walls of local stone, post-and-rail barricades, and zigzag snake fences of split rails.[18]

Beginning as a sandy trailway connecting the villages of Tongva Indians, the arroyo had been recognized by the first Spanish settlers as the most direct route from the administrative center of the Los Angeles pueblo to the most important church in the region, Mission San Gabriel.

Essential to the success and excellence of the parkway was the skillful and land-sensitive location of the route that included the opportunity to develop and visually connect with adjacent parklands. As a 1913 report of the Los Angeles Park Commission about the proposed Arroyo Seco Parkway stated, "If the parkway should end at an intermediate point, not connecting with the rest of the city park system, its value to the city, as well as to the sister communities, would be greatly decreased."[19] The goal was nothing less than the display of the physical and historic landscape of the region through the windshield. The roadway was perceived as connecting with the surrounding landscape, offering "an extensive interpretation" of the features located along roads (by means such as maps, guides, markers, and displays), thus enhancing the meaning of the drive.[20] Additionally, the protection, if not enhancement of adjacent landscapes and parklands was advocated by parkway design. For example, the city of South Pasadena insisted that in laying out the parkway, the road needed to curve around Arroyo Seco Park in order to prevent as little damage to the park site as possible.[21]

Safety, utility, and efficiency were additional goals of modern parkway design. To ensure an uninterrupted flow of traffic, the parkway intro

duced the design concept of limited access to the road. Access from abutting properties was denied, traffic lights were eliminated, and crossings and left turns were prevented. Grade separation was

The completion of this "first freeway of the West" would help define contemporary transportation design and planning and expand the sprawling land-use patterns already started by the rail and interurban systems that had been developed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

provided when the parkway crossed other major arteries. Parkways were to be divided by wide median strips, and their pavements had generous widths. But parkways were designed for passenger cars and for speeds ranging from twenty-five to forty-five miles per hour.[22] As mentioned in the dedication ceremonies of the Arroyo Seco Parkway, "saving in time to motorists is based, not upon traffic flowing unduly at high speeds, but on its ability to flow continuously at reasonable speeds without delays caused by cross-traffic and left hand-turns."[23]

Transportation efficiency and aesthetic delight were considered inseparable goals of parkway design, which in the early twentieth century was described as "bioengineering"—a marriage of architecture, landscaping, and civil engineering in a three-dimensional design.[24] These dual values, which resulted in the design of a road as both a route and a place, were carefully incorporated in the design of the Arroyo Seco Parkway.

THE ARROYO SECO PARKWAY

Beginning as a sandy trailway connecting the villages of Tongva (Gabrieliño) Indians, the arroyo had been recognized by the first Spanish settlers as the most direct route from the administrative center of the Los Angeles pueblo to the most important church in the region, Mission San Gabriel.[25] A logical and direct pedestrian route, this ancient roadway was to be adapted to speedier means of transportation, first of horse wagons, then bicycles, and finally automobiles.

A route connecting downtown Los Angeles to Pasadena, and even farther—linking the mountains to the sea—had been talked about since T. D. Allen of Pasadena first surveyed the arroyo in 1895.[26] In 1900, the first vehicle traffic plan catering to the "mechanical marvel of the day: the bicycle" opened through the arroyo.[27] Then Pasadena Mayor Horace Dobbins began work on "the Cycleway," which would have linked Pasadena with Los Angeles. This bicycle path on an elevated, multi-lane, wooden structure provided grade separation and is now regarded as a precursor of the parkway. But the path was only partly constructed and never fully completed because of lack of funds. As early as 1907, Dr. Dana W. Bartlett, a New England-raised minister and settlement house worker recognizing the beauty of the Arroyo Seco, wrote:

> Entering the river from the Pasadena side, is the Arroyo Seco, a stream whose bed is dry in the summer but which in winter carried quite a volume of water. This is bordered with a natural growth of trees and shrubs, live oaks, and sycamores. Along this can be made one of the most charming drives that any city could desire.[28]

Discussion and debate about a roadway continued well into the 1910s and 1920s, influenced by the national impetus for the building of parkways. These discussions often crystallized as specific proposals and plans. A 1911 drawing by Laurie Davidson Cox depicts the existing Los Angeles parks linked by a series of new or enhanced roadways. One of these roadways would

connect the northeast corner of Elysian Park to the southeast reach of an Arroyo Seco Parkway.[29] The 1913 proposal for an Arroyo Seco Parkway by the Los Angeles Parks Commission also envisioned a metropolitan parkway through the cities of Los Angeles, South Pasadena, and Pasadena to the mountains of the National Forest Reserve.[30] The 1924 *Major Street Traffic Plan for Los Angeles* by Frederick Law Olmsted, Harland Bartholomew, and Charles H. Cheney proposed the first grade-separated parkway following the Arroyo Seco from Pasadena to Los Angeles and was modeled after the suburban parkways of New York.[31] In 1930, observing that "parkways are wholly lacking in the Los Angeles Region" Olmsted and Batholomew issued their report *Parks, Playgrounds, and Beaches for the Los Angeles Region*, proposing a comprehensive and coordinated system of large parks and connecting parkways. The proposed Arroyo Seco Parkway would represent a North-South chain "from the mountains to the sea through the heart of the city."[32]

These discussions and proposals about an Arroyo Seco Parkway, provocative as they might have been, were not effectively pursued because of the anticipated cost during a Depression-era squeeze on local funding sources. The proposed roadway, each city thought, would be fine "as long as somebody else pays for it."[33] By the late 1930s this "somebody" was identified. By making the Arroyo Seco Parkway a state highway, and putting it in the care of the California Highway Commission, state funds became available, making the project feasible.[34] The state was able to provide half of the five million dollars needed for the first 6.8 miles of the parkway; the remaining half included federal money from the Work Progress Administration and the Public Works Administration, some city funds, and gas tax revenues from Los Angeles and South Pasadena.[35] A final hurdle was overcome by the change of a state law that guaranteed property owners living next to public highways access to roads built with public funds. The 1939 Freeway Law in California recognized a new type of highway to which abutting property owners did not have the right of access.

There were reasons why the Arroyo Seco Parkway became the first grade-separated, limited access, high-speed divided road in the west. The building of the parkway was heavily supported by the wealthy and powerful residents of Pasadena and businessmen from downtown Los Angeles. By the mid-1930s, the Pasadena Chamber of Commerce, the Pasadena Realty Board, and the Pasadena City Planning Commission all put their considerable weight behind the construction of the parkway. Despite opposition from the lower arroyo community of Highland Park, whose residents argued that the road would destroy arroyo park lands, the powerful Pasadena boosters along with businessmen from the Los Angeles Central Business District were able to lobby the state legislature and include the Arroyo Seco Parkway in the state highway system.[36]

Built in three major stages from 1938 to 1953, the 8.2-mile parkway gave an easy commute from Pasadena to downtown Los Angeles. The road combined the best traditions of parkway design with engineering inventiveness and technological innovation. Designed as a roadway where the ingress and egress from abutting property was prohibited, where all crossings were separated, and all left turns were prevented, the parkway allowed for uninterrupted movement of vehicles and transportation efficiency.

The first segment of the Arroyo Seco Parkway, completed in 1939, cost less than one million dollars per mile. This included the building of the Arroyo Seco flood control channel, as well as twenty-two bridge structures, two pedestrian overpasses, two railroad bridges, utility reconstruction, and landscaping. For the construction of the parkway embankments, engineers utilized hundreds of thousands of cubic yards of material excavated from the Arroyo Seco Channel by the WPA and from the Los Angeles River by the U.S. District Engineers.[37] This cut down considerably the cost of the parkway, which was found to be "exceptionally low for a freeway of its character." Furthermore, the Automobile Club of Southern California hailed the new parkway as saving each

Safety measures on the Arroyo Seco parkway keep motorists from entering the wrong side of the highway, 1942. Today the parkway is the most unsafe route in the Los Angeles area based on California Department of Transportation statistics.
AUTOMOBILE CLUB OF CALIFORNIA.

motorist six cents per trip over driving surface streets from Pasadena to downtown.[38] In the construction of the Arroyo Seco Parkway, traffic safety was of paramount importance. To reduce the possibility of head-on collisions, a six-foot median strip was designed. The shrubbery planted in the median was intended to shield drivers from the headlight glare of oncoming traffic.[39] Fences were erected to separate traffic from children and animals at the adjacent properties. The lanes were eleven feet wide, and a shoulder of ten feet was originally planned for each side of the roadway. Different-colored types of concrete were used for different lanes to encourage drivers to stay in their lane. Other safety features included special safety lighting at all inlets and outlets of the parkway, warning and directional signals, and red reflectors and amber-colored flashers installed in curbs.[40] A 1945 study pointed to these safety features as an explanation of the remarkably low ratio of traffic accidents that the parkway enjoyed in comparison to other major highways with similar traffic volumes.[41]

Consistent with the dictums of parkway planning, the Arroyo Seco Parkway offered driving pleasure to motorists by exposing them to the scenic beauty of the surrounding landscape. Existing parklands were enhanced by the planting of approximately four thousand plants, which were selected and placed so that "a brilliant showing of color would be maintained throughout the year."[42] To enhance the pleasure of the ride, engineers adjusted the road's contours to fit the landscape, installed "rustic" rails on rubble parapet walls and wooden railings along on- and off-ramps.[43]

FROM PARKWAY TO FREEWAY

> "Travelling itself is becoming more of a chore and less of a pleasure. The road which once served for a pleasurable driving experience is now jammed with traffic and lined with signs; its alternative a super-highway designed for speeds of 70 miles an hour."[44]

In the 1950s the nation witnessed the first decade of an era dominated by traffic engineering, and the goal of efficiency quickly overshadowed that of aesthetic delight. The passage of the Federal Highway Act of 1956 led to the building of 43,000 miles of utilitarian roads, including 2,175 miles within city limits. Multi-lane freeway systems that could move people and goods at higher speeds were superimposed over the land with little or no attention to aesthetics, scenic pleasure, community values, or environmental impacts. Decked overpasses supplanted the decorated stone bridges. Wooden rails and sculpted roadside surfaces gave way to concrete sound walls, and the gently winding roadway lanes were replaced by flat and curveless ribbons.[45] Parkways, considered products of a bygone era, quickly lost favor among traffic engineers. The adjustment of parkways to the freeway era has been problematic at best, as they were designed for fewer and slower cars, and for recreational driving.

At the time of its dedication in 1940, the Arroyo Seco Parkway, with its crucial goal of aesthetic appeal and connection to a picturesque landscape, began to be identified as the first freeway of the West, with its more concentrated focus on speed, traffic volume, uninterrupted travel, and efficiency. Built in a transitional phase of road building, when the ideal of a recreational parkway was about to give way to the concept of the high-speed freeway, the parkway's builders sought to reconcile utilitarian purposes with traditional recreational motives.[46] The program prepared for the dedication ceremony of the Arroyo Seco Parkway emphasized modernity and progress, stating that the parkway would become "the first completed unit of the proposed system of modern express highways which is absolutely essential in this, the fastest growing and most congested metropolitan area in the West, to provide for the safe and expeditious handling of traffic."[47]

In the years that followed, the Olmsted/Bartholomew vision of greenbelts and pleasure drives would become transformed into the high-speed freeway system. The completion of this "first freeway of the West" would in turn help define contemporary transportation design and planning and expand the sprawling land-use patterns already started by the rail and interurban systems that had been developed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. What had changed? Martin Wachs explains that the rise of the automobile "had a lot to do with images of modernity associated with the different transportation modes and also with the balance of political power within the Los Angeles area." The private car was viewed as the epitome of modernity. At the same time, a coalition of automobile advocates (spearheaded by the Automobile Club of Southern California), civic leaders, and suburban land developers pushed hard for a regional transportation system focused around the automobile.[48] By 1940, the president of the Studebaker Corporation would declare that "in highways lies a new national frontier for the pessimist who thinks frontiers have disappeared."[49] Economic expediencies also helped the shift from the vision of parkways to the reality of freeways. Despite its widespread popularity, the Olmsted-Bartholomew plan required resources that the city and county did not have. According to Wachs, the freeway system that emerged reflected the need to compromise to obtain federal funding. Highway engineers from the Bureau of Public Roads adopted uniform standards that were consistent throughout the state, and indeed quite similar around the nation. Sensitivity to local context and topography gave way to standardization, uniformity, and efficiency.

While the Arroyo Seco Parkway had been viewed in the 1940s as a model for roadway design, sixty years later it has become plagued by a number of problems.

This shift had two major consequences. On the one hand, it thoroughly undermined proposals made by various public transportation advocates during the 1920s and 1930s to establish a linked transportation system that included parkways, rail (including a rail system along the median strip of a parkway), buses, and even bicycles. At the same time, as the parkway gave way to the freeway, the goals of the "pleasure drive" and connection to place became even more problematic.

New freeways were straightened to maximize speed and efficiency. Their locations were determined in relation to an interconnected grid system that paralleled the old interurban routes and the real estate speculation and growth patterns of the region while paying little if any attention to the surrounding landscape and even existing built environments.

By the 1950s, with the parkway concept having become a historical curiosity, Los Angeles (as well as other metropolitan areas) embarked on ahighway construction frenzy financed by the Federal Interstate Highway Act, which effectively divided neighborhoods, reconfigured cities, and promoted suburban sprawl. Los Angeles already

led the country in its myriad manifestations of car-centered growth, culture, architecture, politics, and residential development. The dominant auto-based system not only encouraged new suburban residential development at the urban edge, but also led to a shift of supermarkets away from the urban core to the suburbs, the rise of gated communities, and the making of a built environment of strip malls, drive-thrus, and fast-food outlets. The car and the freeway became the very symbols of Los Angeles, with the region's patterns of long-distance commuting, daily episodes of air pollution, traffic congestion, carved up neighborhoods, and endless, monochrome suburban vistas and sprawling development.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

While the Arroyo Seco Parkway had been viewed in the 1940s as a model for roadway design, sixty years later it has become plagued by a number of problems as can be seen in the figures on page 37. Originally built to carry 27,000 automobiles per day at forty-five miles per hour, the parkway today carries an average daily traffic load of more than 130,000 cars (at its southern end) at speeds often exceeding the official limit of fifty-five miles per hour (when not congested). An analysis of data from the California Department of Transportation shows that the average daily traffic load has increased consistently since the parkway opened. Congestion can be found on the parkway during many times of the day and evening. As shown in the second chart, traffic builds continuously heading south, with a peak of 8,000 cars per hour in the middle of the parkway and about 14,000 cars per hour where it intersects with Interstate 5. Originally built for a leisurely drive, the parkway has only three rather narrow lanes on each direction. Given the greater volume of vehicles, higher speeds, and, as discussed below, high accident rates, bottlenecks are daily occurrences for what has become the main thoroughfare connecting Pasadena to downtown Los Angeles.

Today the parkway is the most unsafe route in the region based on accident rates. The majority of the accidents on the parkway happen because of speeding (62 percent) or because of improper turns (17 percent). The parkway was not designed for today's high speeds. As a result, fast driving along its tight curves and narrow lanes often results in traffic collisions. A serious safety issue concerns the on- and off-ramps where motorists need to brake or accelerate quickly due to the lack of merge lanes.[50] A 1940s article in Westways described the challenge for motorists, even in the early days, of waiting at a dead stop and having to merge onto the curving roadway "with teeth clenched, pushing the accelerator all the way to the floor, . . . afraid to look back and see if anything was gaining on you."[51] These ingress and egress points have become more problematic with the multiplication of cars. A thorough analysis of the spatial distribution of accidents along the Arroyo Seco Parkway shows that the percentage of total accidents increases as the distance from an on- or off-ramp decreases.

An experiential analysis of driving along the parkway found that visual delight is certainly greater along this parkway than along other freeways in the region. The elements of parkway design—such as graceful turns following the natural topography, generous vistas, decorative bridges, and greenery—make for a distinct driving experience, if one could drive at a slower speed to enjoy it. Yet some of the initial intentions have been compromised or abandoned. Many of the original aesthetic features of the parkway have been removed or damaged, and concrete median barriers have replaced the historic guardrail. Overgrown and untrimmed planting areas and misplaced bushes and trees have hidden some of the important views of the hillsides. Along the sides of the parkway, chain link fences, barbed wire, and metal guardrails have often replaced the rustic wooden fencing. At certain segments, sound walls hinder views of the parkway surroundings.

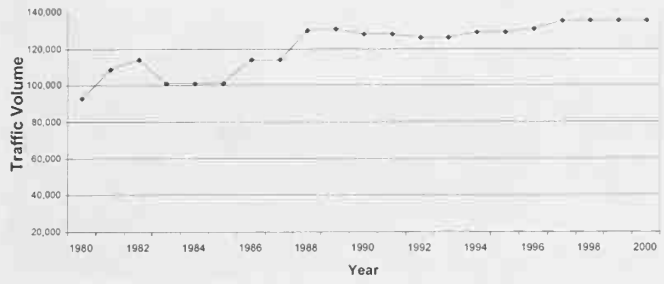
By 2004, the drive along the Arroyo Seco Parkway has become as unsafe and unpleasant in bumper-to-bumper congested traffic as any freeway in southern California, a far cry from the pleasure ride it was originally designed for. The question then becomes: What, if anything, can be done?

STRATEGIES AND EFFORTS FOR CHANGE

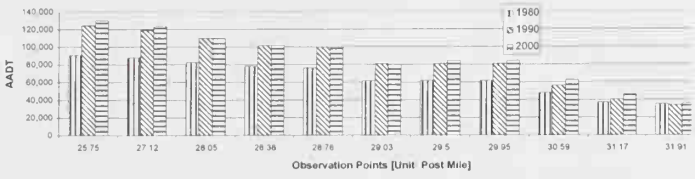
By the early 1990s, community concerns about congestion, high accident rates, lack of maintenance, and the deteriorating visual quality of the drive had risen to high levels. In response, under pressure from State Senator Richard Polanco the Arroyo Seco Task Force was established. Working with officials from the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans), the task force was charged with exploring strategies to reduce accident rates and enhance the visual quality of the roadway. Caltrans officials had previously explored re-engineering the roadway and its on- and off-ramps to make the original parkway function more like a high-speed freeway, only to find those approaches blocked by a number of factors, including legislation that had protected adjacent parklands and the historic nature of the roadway. The community task force sought to focus the attention of the highway planners on two core strategies: 1) achieving historic parkway status that could lead to landscape changes consistent with the original parkway concept and 2) traffic-calming approaches (including a reduction of the speed limit to its original forty-five miles per hours) to help reduce accidents and ultimately relieve congestion.

Originally built to carry 27,000 automobiles per day at forty-five miles per hour, the Arroyo Seco Parkway today carries an average daily traffic load of more than 130,000 cars (at its southern end) at speeds often exceeding the official limit of fifty-five miles per hour (when not congested). Today the parkway is the most unsafe route in the region based on accident rates. The majority of the accidents on the parkway happen because of speeding (62 percent) or because of improper turns (17 percent). The parkway was not designed for today's high speeds. As a result, fast driving along its tight curves and narrow lanes can result in collisions. Another serious safety issue concerns the on- and off-ramps where motorists need to brake or accelerate quickly due to the lack of merge lanes.

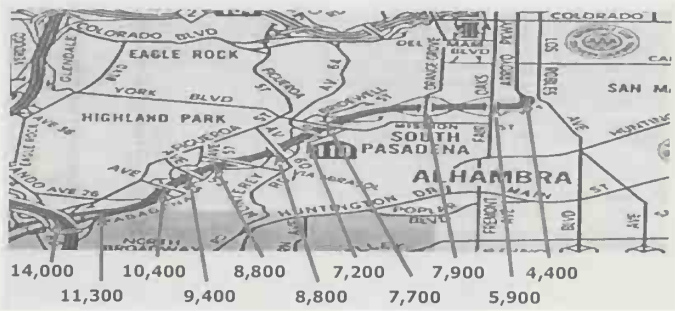
Average Daily Traffic on the Arroyo Seco Parkway and I-5 Intersection (1980-2000)
Source: California Department of Transportation, District 7



Changes of Average Annual Daily Traffic (AADR) from 1980 to 2000
Source: California Department of Transportation, District 7

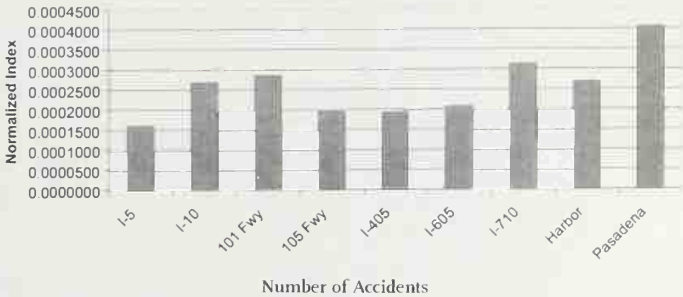


Peak Hour Volumes on the Arroyo Seco Parkway



Source: California Department of Transportation, District 7

Adjusted Number of Total Accidents on Freeways on Los Angeles Freeways



$$\text{Normalized Index} = \frac{\text{Number of Accidents}}{(\text{AADT})^{*}(\text{Length of Freeway})^{*}(\text{Investigated Period})}$$

Source: Accident numbers given by the California Department of Transportation; Index calculated by the researchers.

A tricyclist peddles down a blissfully car-free I-110. In 2003 the Arroyo Seco Collaborative held the ArroyoFest, closing the freeway to motor traffic for a few hours so bicyclists and walkers could enjoy the novelty of traveling through the arroyo on their own steam.

Teresa Ojeda, ArroyoFest.

The response by Caltrans focused on three possible options to address the concerns raised by the task force: create new signage that identified the freeway as an historic scenic parkway; emphasize that the facility was not built for modern freeway conditions (e.g., through warning signs); or physically re-engineer the freeway to function more as a freeway and thereby address some of its more protracted accident problems. Although some preliminary studies were undertaken to explore the option of redesign, Caltrans engineers, planners, and legal staff ultimately decided that any effort along these lines would impact parkland and undermine the historic nature of the parkway, which in turn would have triggered legislative obstacles. And while Caltrans explored briefly the options of lowering speed limits or pursuing other traffic-calming strategies, agency staff decided these options were also limited by administrative code regulations that limited the capacity of the agency to *lower* rather than raise a speed limit.

Nevertheless, the efforts of the task force did lead to some important changes. Its work helped to bring about the designation of the Arroyo Seco Parkway as an American Civil Engineering Landmark and a National Scenic Byway. At the same time, community advocates and resident groups began to refocus attention on the traffic, accident, speed limit, and other freeway/parkway issues. The Arroyo Seco Collaborative of community organizations was formed in 2000 and plans were made to host an unprecedented event called ArroyoFest involving a walk and bike ride on the Pasadena Freeway, which took place on Sunday, June 15, 2003. This event was designed in part to bring renewed attention to parkway/freeway issues. The ArroyoFest collaborators reintroduced the concept of traffic calming, including reduced speed limits in the context of a broader approach to transportation in the Arroyo Seco corridor. This multi-modal transportation approach sought to integrate light rail, expanded bus service, commuter bikeways, and pedestrian walkways. At the same time, the ArroyoFest event brought attention to the historical role and significance of the parkway concept and its potential role in twenty-first' century transportation and land-use planning. In ways reminiscent of the debates of the 1920s and 1930s, this new visibility regarding the historic parkway established a dialogue about transportation planning that included re-envisioning the role of its primary transportation corridors.

PROSPECTS FOR URBAN PARKWAYS

The rising community interest in the use of the Arroyo Seco Parkway prompts us to reconsider the relevance of parkways today. The evolution of idyllic carriageways into serpentine automobile parkways and the replacement of the latter by expressways and freeways reflect the nation's changing social and technological circumstances from the mid-nineteenth to the mid- twentieth

century. Parkways belonged to a transitional phase of the nation's social history.[52] They were built during an era that sought to come to terms with new technologies by humanizing the internal combustion engine and bringing it into a sympathetic relationship with its surroundings. In the mid-twentieth century the emphasis on aesthetics and pleasurable driving embodied in parkway design was sacrificed for the promise of efficiency and speed that the freeways seemed to offer.

Fifty years later, the once-efficient freeway system is clogged and congested. Communities do not want the intrusion of new freeways in their neighborhoods and in certain cases have effectively stopped their expansion. At the same time debates over parkways and freeways have now come full circle. From an emphasis on efficiency, volume, and speed, with the predominance of single-driver automobiles defining the parameters of transportation planning, there is an increasing interest in such concepts as multi-modal transportation, traffic calming, and a broader set of community, aesthetic, historical, and environmental goals associated with the drive.

But can existing parkways overcome their contemporary woes and be successfully reclaimed? We believe that urban parkways such as the Arroyo Seco in Los Angeles or Route 163 in San Diego can be seen as assets rather than liabilities if they are considered as one piece of an integrated transportation network that may include parallel road alignments, light rail, busways, and bikeways. The additional transportation modes bring the possibility of easing traffic along the parkways. To reduce the large number of speeding accidents, speed limits should be lowered to their original forty-five miles per hour—a change that, in the case of the Arroyo Seco Parkway only adds two extra minutes to the ride from Pasadena to the I-5 intersection just north of downtown Los Angeles. The lower speed limit is more appropriate for the narrow and curvy lanes of parkways and also allows entering cars to merge more smoothly into parkway traffic.

Parkways would be seen as assets by motorists if their compromised aesthetics were to be restored and emphasis again placed on making the drive pleasurable. The restoration of the design and landscaping features of the roadway, the bridges and overpasses, the guardrails, signs, light fixtures, and trees would give back the roadway its "human scale" that could be appreciated by motorists at lower speeds.

The lesson that the parkway model brings from the past to the future is the notion of the road as both a *route* facilitating movement and a *place* connecting to the surrounding context and landscape.

The efforts to restore key parkway features and re-envision the role of parkways in current transportation planning has been aided by the growth of historic preservation movements, including such parkway-related conservancy organizations as the Merritt Parkway Conservancy in Connecticut. These groups have also begun to make alliances with neighborhood groups, transit advocates, and planners to both promote alternative transportation strategies while primarily focusing on preserving key landscape and design features of existing parkways. These alliances have adopted strategies that focus on specific roadways achieving historic landmark and/or scenic byway status as a means of enhancing the open space and natural landscape of areas adjacent to parkways.[53]

Alliances have taken root in southern California in the debates about the future of the Pasadena Freeway/Arroyo Seco Parkway. Community activism and interest in the re-envisioning of the Arroyo Seco Parkway further demonstrate that parkways can be valued by their adjacent communities if they are perceived as connectors rather than separators of neighborhoods. Modern freeways ways have typically excluded and negated the surrounding urban context, arrogantly soaring over the city, or diving below it. In the

process they carved and separated neighborhoods and made them invisible by utilizing miles of concrete walls to make the separation more effective. In contrast, the border between the parkway and the city was often soft, consisting of trees, vegetation, and parkland, allowing the motorist wide vistas and an appreciation of the surrounding historic and cultural context. This more sympathetic approach to the urban surroundings with its inherent connection to place makes today's parkways—even those that have seen some of their original design aspects compromised—more palatable to communities than freeways.

Ultimately, we see a future for urban parkways if transportation planners stop treating them as something they are not—freeways—and look closer to restoring their original values, those of combining the qualities of route and place. Parkways were built for specific traffic capacities and speeds. Transportation planning should seek to relieve traffic volumes by offering additional modal choices. By reorienting transportation planning to the value of the parkway, the lessons from the Arroyo Seco can ultimately help turn a "dangerous and inadequate" relic into a more supple and appealing transportation experience; they can indeed put back more of the pleasure in the drive and connect rather than separate the communities they pass through.

Recent nominations of some of the nation's parkways to the National Register of Historic Places or the Federal Highway Administration's list of "All-American Roads," the preservation of existing parkways (e.g., the Merritt Parkway), and even the development of some new parkways (e.g., the Franconia Notch Parkway of Interstate 93 in New Hampshire and the Glenwood Canyon Parkway of Interstate 70 in Colorado), point to a new-found value for a road design once considered obsolete. Ultimately, the lesson that the parkway model brings from the past to the future is the notion of the road as both a route facilitating movement and a place connecting to the surrounding context and landscape.

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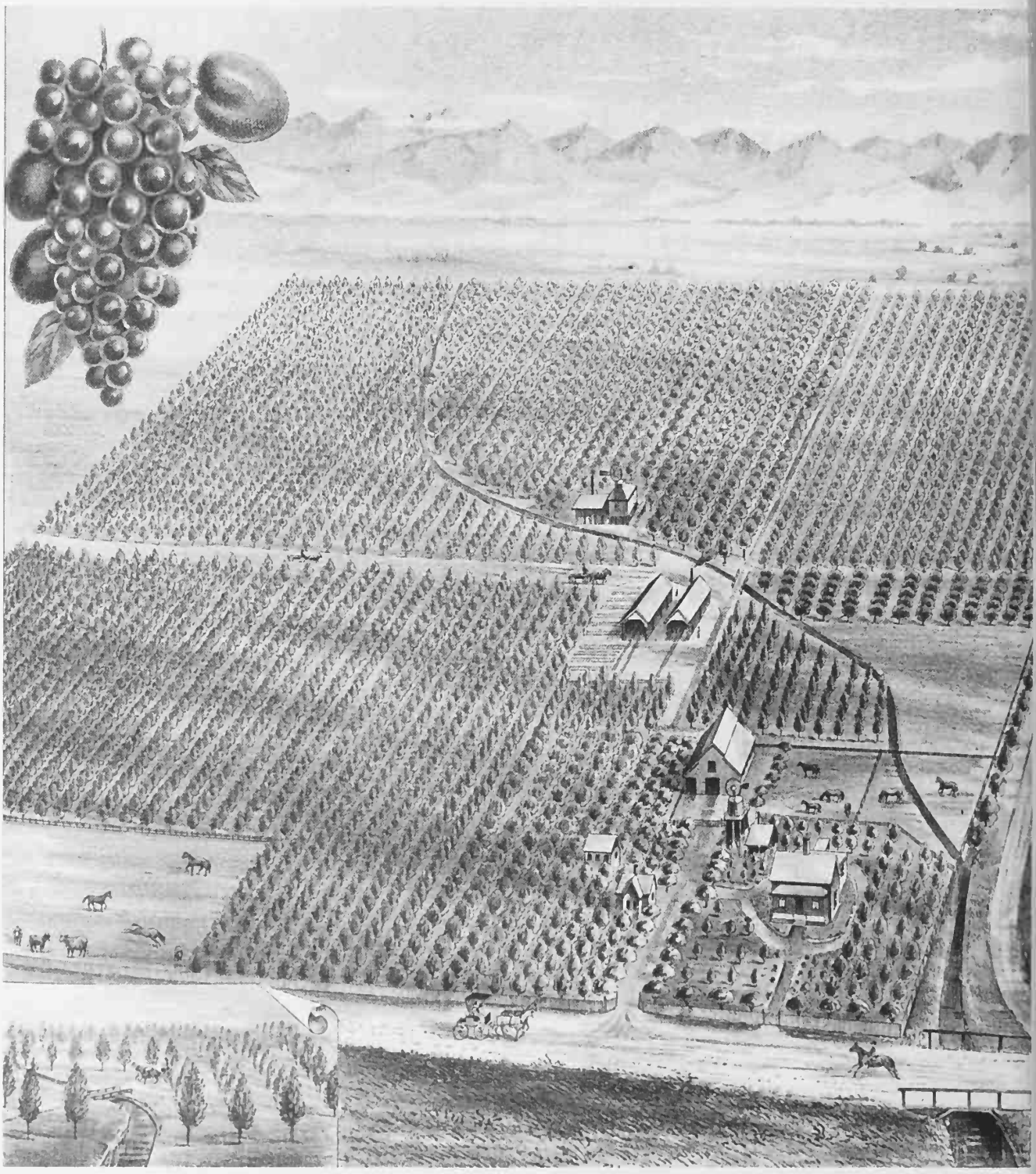
Pictured Landscapes of the South San Joaquin Valley, California:

LITHOGRAPHS OF THE 1880S AND 1890S

BY ALISON PRESTON AND WILLIAM PRESTON

In 1891, Mr. Nes Hansen of Armona was approached by an agent with a proposition—to illustrate his land and possessions and include them in an ambitious county atlas alongside the other prominent landowners in the county. The offer was no doubt intriguing; for only a small fee he could be ranked among the important property-owners and his land holdings immortalized for posterity. During the 1880s and 1890s, the southern San Joaquin Valley of California found itself the subject of a burgeoning number of county histories and atlases. Representatives of such publishing companies as Wallace W. Elliott and Co.[1] and T. H. Thompson and Co.[2] traveled the area to promote their product, and many settlers, newly prideful of their accomplishments and regional identities, found their wares highly attractive.[3] Prior to the arrival of the railroad in the early 1870s, the region was primarily subject to the rapacious gleaning of raw material wealth by short-term agrarian prospectors and speculators following the Gold Rush. In contrast, during the vital period following the 1870s, the region hosted an influx of hopeful settlers committed to making a permanent life for themselves and their families. These newcomers' commitment to the land is documented through the proud display of themselves and their homes and fields against a backdrop of permanent development. Also pictured are the attitudes and perceptions of the homesteaders and chroniclers themselves: The domestic settings reveal a remarkable remaking of the land that is testimony to the courage, vitality, and arduous labor of the settlers so conducive to permanent settlement.

While these visual records are, in part, ones that the chroniclers were commissioned to represent, their settings also reveal the artistic representation of manifest destiny: Recurring themes of productivity, abundance, and industry pervade these stories. The sketch artists were selective in who and what they displayed and appealed to the vanities of their patrons, who were eager to demonstrate their fulfillment of the dream of possession that had initially enticed them to the region. Nevertheless, these viewmakers were not drawing from nature but deliberately reconstructing it by reinforcing and idealizing their own vision of the evolving contemporary landscape. Thus, the lithographs of the 1880s and 1890s present selective scenes of domesticity and permanence and a glimpse into the historical, geographic, and aesthetic processes that had fashioned the South Valley's landscapes throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century. A look at Thomas H. Thompson's *Official Historical Atlas Map of Tulare County*, published in 1892, provides a representative case study of the themes, style, and context of many similar historical atlases of the period.



Chapin Fruit Ranch, 1 1/2 Miles N.E. Tulare City. C. A. Chapin, Owner, North Kohala, Hawaii. The insets reiterate the themes of prosperity and abundance depicted in the illustration.

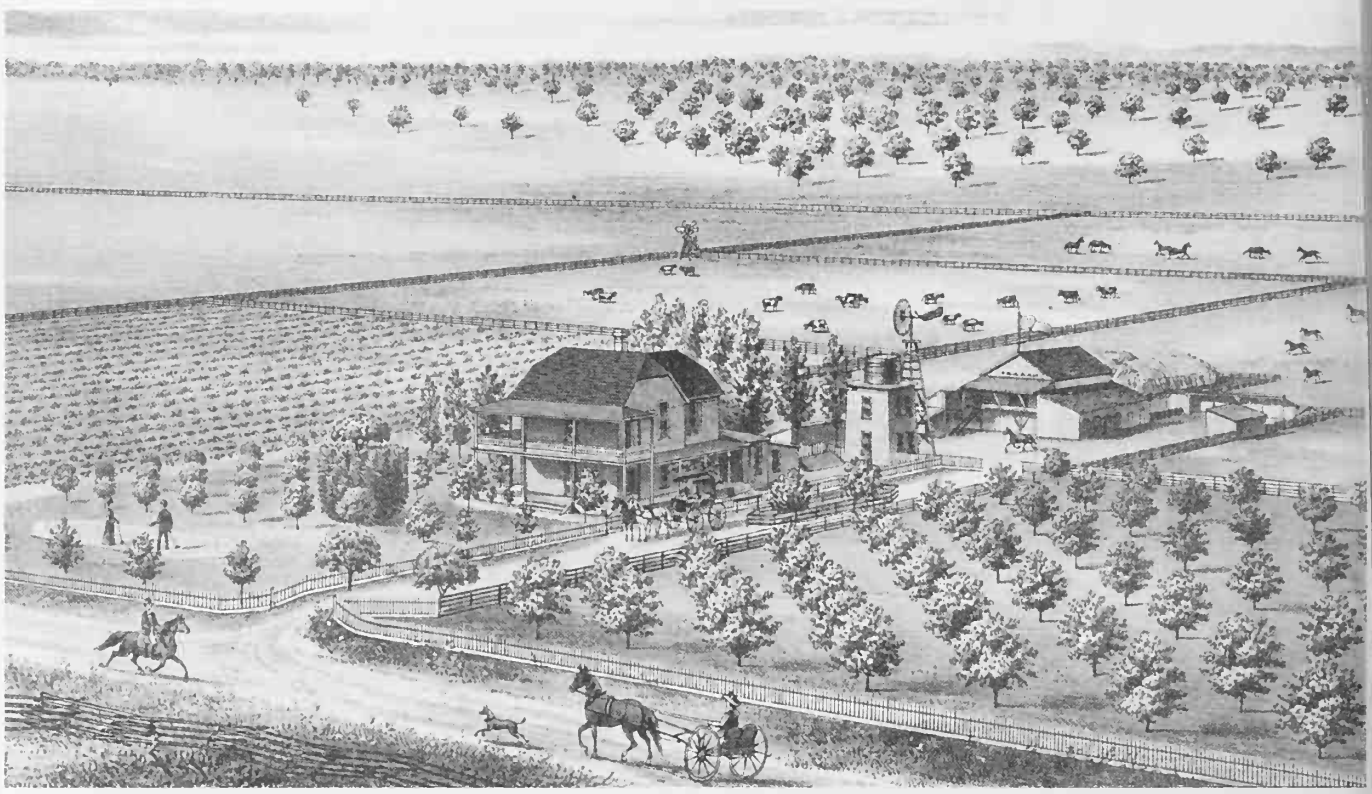
This and all other atlas illustrations from Thos. H. Thompson, *Official Historical Atlas Map of Tulare County* (Tulare, CA: T. H. Thompson, 1892).

CENES OF COMMITMENT, PROSPERITY, AND OMESTICITY

Increasingly throughout the 1870s to 1890s, California was asserting itself as the garden to feed the nation, and for many the Central Valley was its heart. The southern San Joaquin Valley—extending from the Kings River in the north to the Tehachapi Mountains in the south—was being settled by an increasing number of immigrants seeking to make this portion of the Central Valley their permanent home.[4] Rapid changes accompanied the Americanization of the Central Valley, and the processes that shaped and reshaped the region reflected those that eventually transformed the entire western frontier. The Gold Rush had stimulated the repopulation of the San Joaquin Valley, which had been virtually decimated of its native dwellers, the Yokuts, during the preceding Colonial period.[5] By the middle of the 1850s, Americans were using most of the southern valley's habitats as a great ranch and pastureland in anticipation of rapid profits from the food demands of the gold fields and distant urban centers. The South Valley pastures would gradually retreat as a consequence of severe droughts and floods during the 1860s and the new economic opportunities afforded by improvements in irrigation and transportation. As was true elsewhere in the West, the arrival of the railroad in the South Valley during the early 1870s stimulated rapid and dramatic changes in the region's demographic and economic complexion. Since the railroad's own success depended in part upon the economic viability of the region, railroad officials had a vested interest in promoting settlement and encouraging development; thus, they worked actively to divide large tracts into densely settled smaller holdings, and encourage farmers to increase productivity and diversify their fields into the more lucrative specialty crops.[6] The growing American and international demand for grain accompanied the advent of rail transportation, and many of the remaining stockmen and recent immigrants to the South Valley began to pursue new economic opportunities.[7]

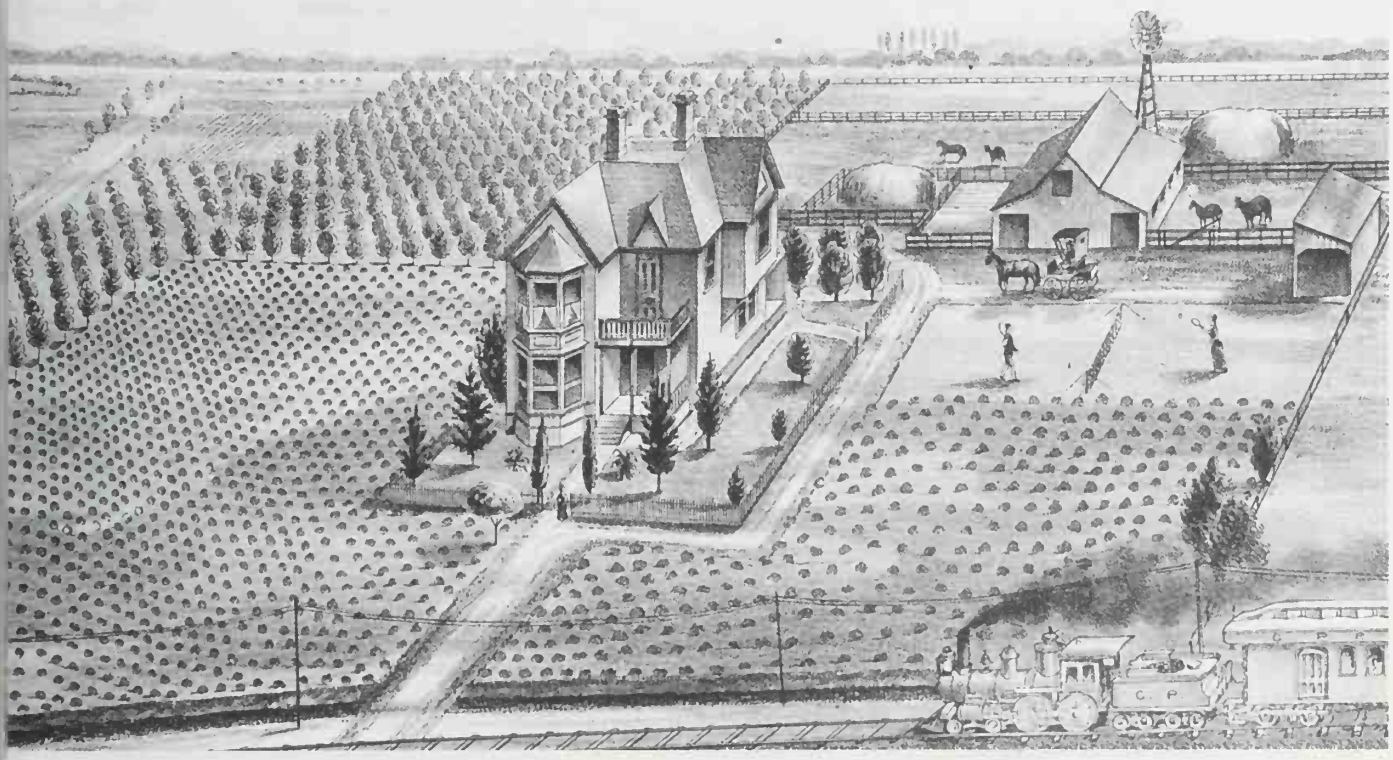
The appeal of abundant, fertile land and hopes of prosperity afforded by intensified agriculture coincided with the accelerated arrival of new immigrants to the South Valley eager to take advantage of its plenty. Many of these newcomers prospered and chose to make permanent homes and raise families in the region; yet, the valley still had not entirely escaped its reputation for being arid, un-pleasant, and inhospitable.[8] Those residents self-conscious of the lack of refinement in their new home were eager to display the accoutrements of civilized society to their ostensibly more cultivated neighbors. The chroniclers who converged upon the southern San Joaquin valley during the 1880s and 1890s were astute salesmen and appealed to the vanities of the successful—or soon to be successful—farmers, ranchers, businessmen, and small property owners. All had one common desire: to make permanent and convey to posterity their place in the making of this land. Many townspeople, businessmen, and homesteaders, pleased with their accomplishments and regional identities, found the wares of these publishers highly attractive and thus were willing to pay to have themselves, their possessions, and their localities mapped, written about, and visually chronicled. As a result, the pictorial and biographical portions of the county atlases focus upon their landscapes and consequently reflect the perceptions and vanities of those who could afford to pay.[9] Moreover, the orientation in subject matter was matched by the prevailing attitudes and perceptions of the writers and sketch artists who shared with their customers a sense of what was worthy of their attention and the proper ex-pression of American Manifest Destiny.

Demand for lithographic reproductions in the United States featuring western images mushroomed during the latter half of the nineteenth century owing to expanded interest in the region by outsiders and the local prosperity that stimulated a sense of self-promotion among the settlers.[10] Thomas H. Thompson was one of the publishers who had come to California in the 1870s from the Midwest where he had already achieved sub-



Ranch and Residence of Thomas H. Thompson, Tulare, California. Thompson was the publisher of the Official Historical Atlas Map of Tulare County *(1892), and he modestly includes his property as the last in the volume. The illustration depicts many of the prevailing themes in the sketches: a substantial dwelling and estate, maturing orchards and ordered plantings, grazing animals in orderly pens, and people engaged in pleasant pastimes.*

stantial success. He rapidly became one of the principal chroniclers of California, producing a series of fourteen historical county atlases plus a history of Nevada under the firm name of Thompson and West. Later he and his family moved to Tulare where he produced the *Official Historical Atlas Map of Tulare County*, including in it an illustration of his own property.[11] Thompson's western atlases as well as his innovative style[12] had a popular appeal to his clientele, and the sheer number of atlases he produced of California made them representative of similar endeavors by other atlas makers. In general, like other western publishers, the counties he focused on tended to possess at least ten thousand residents in order to give a sufficient return on the investment.[13] To maximize profits and offset the more costly commercial cartography, mapmakers often included marginal portraits and depictions of buildings or other property owned by citizens willing to pay to assuage their vanities. The atlases usually were produced on a subscription basis, so agents would initially canvas a county in an attempt to interest prominent and prosperous inhabitants not only in purchasing a volume but also contracting for a view of their property and inclusion in the patrons' directory. Each subscriber signed a contract for the volume, but paid an extra fee for the inclusion of a biography, portrait, or illustration of personal property. Subscriptions were often weighted toward such individuals as railroad officials, town businessmen, large landholders, and developers, although agents occasionally gained the official sponsorship from boards of supervisors and free advertising in local



Ranch and Residence of Nes Hansen, Armona, Tulare County. Whether to entice other settlers to the region or to assuage their patrons' vanities, the illustrations often depict scenes of permanence, modernity, and refinement.

newspapers.[14] Later, the professionals responsible for the project arrived in the county and commenced work to construct the local history, map the district, and immortalize its citizens and their landscapes.

Most of the historical introduction focuses upon the history, features, and local economies of the towns represented in the atlas, notable figures in the founding, establishment, and governance of the county, conflicts between the early settlers and Native Americans, and various scandals and dramatic incidents of local interest. A brief patrons' directory is included at the end of the volume listing the occupation, number of acres owned, place of origin, and dates of arrival in the state and county for each subscriber. To a certain extent, the volume commemorates the ordinary citizens and scenes from quotidian life that helped to settle the land. Of particular note, however, is the orchard and fruit ranch of C. A. Chapin, which Thompson highlights in the history as a model of industry, prosperity, and modern cultivation techniques. The text reinforces the ideals represented by the illustrations and conveys to its readers a similar model upon which their own success may rest.

For the most part, the artists drew what existed. Nevertheless, the images they produced were not altogether candid portrayals of reality. These viewmakers were highly selective and tended to emphasize the more attractive aspects of the landscape while diminishing the less desirable ones.[15] And like their patrons, they were intrigued by the processes that led to these new vistas, and recounted the passing of former conditions with

little regret.[16] The ramshackle huts and untended ranch and farm dwellings that pervaded the South Valley in previous decades continued as landscape elements, but are virtually nonexistent in the pictured accounts of the 1880s and 1890s. Also concealed in the sub-texts of these contemporary scenes are the hidden landscapes and untold stories of the laborers, renters, and poor landowners that the chroniclers and their patrons failed to represent. Instead, these visual supplements to the period's histories and atlases abound with the perspectives of people who had chosen to spend their lives in the valley or the civic promoters who wished to entice others to do so. For example, the sketch of Nes Hansen's ranch and residence depicts all the accoutrements of comfortable refinement: a fine stately home, proximity to town, connection to the outside world through the railroad, and engaging leisure activities, while situated amidst a bucolic setting of expansive vistas, mature orchards, and orderly plantings. In the histories and atlases of the South Valley, trains, water features, trees, and foothills frequently adorned and enhanced the lithographs. Furthermore, the sketch artists embellished the panoramas with people, carriages, animals, and railroad trains to provide the impression of activity and movement. Interestingly, in some lithographs, the anticipated, but yet to be constructed, elements of the settings such as mature orchards, planned urban trains, buildings, and rural development schemes are also included.[17] However, these elements often were additions not actually present or which existed beyond the area or specific site being shown. One critic thought the artistic exaggeration was due, in part, to the probability "that the artists made sketches afield and did their work on stone at the home office on their return. Or from memory. Or somebody else used the sketches as guides to their own ideas. Or on a basis of mere description. Or just flight of fancy. Some of the descriptions of landscape suffer a slight—shall we call it exaggeration?—from one another of these dilutions."[18] It will never be known how much of the subject matter was included for artistic balance, patron flattery, or boosterism.

The lithographic illustrations themselves varied greatly in quality and consistency. For example, certain elements in the landscape were often reproduced hurriedly while other features, even within the same drawing, were rendered with intricate detail. Perspective was often a problem for the artists in depicting structural features and background objects. Such vertical and horizontal exaggeration is particularly frequent and noticeable in the reproductions of people, animals, and buildings that are commonly too large in reference to items in the foreground and vice versa.[19] For example, on page 48 the train appears to be not only out of proportion in size but also to pass unexpectedly close to the front of the house, while the couple engaged in a game of lawn tennis gives the impression of being nearly twice the size of the figure in the foreground, and in the background the poplar trees along the horizon seem nearly as tall as the highest mountain peak. As a result of these difficulties, one student of lithography cautioned "we should look at these lithographic images, whether in vignettes or in the body of the view, as flattering, carefully posed, and retouched portraits rather than as completely candid records of reality."[20] Nonetheless, despite their lack of distinction as great works of art, the county lithographs remain useful, albeit selective, documentaries of life in the valley during the 1880s and 1890s.

The most enduring themes that bind the lithographs featured in the county atlases and histories are the expressions of permanency, prosperity, and commitment to place. Nearly every town or country image reveals the external trappings of prosperous people endeavoring, seemingly, to secure a comfortable future in the valley. Above all, the lithographs pictured the counties' country and urban families. During earlier decades of the American period, men, mostly without women, were the chief occupiers of the South Valley. Male demographic dominance had begun to change as the 1870s heralded an increasing presence of women as wives and homebuilders.[21] By the 1880s and 1890s the female population was strong enough to prove revolutionary in its impact on domestic and public landscapes. Spouses and

mothers provided the cohesion necessary to strengthen the regional loyalty and commitment of their men who, in addition to running stock, managing crops, or conducting transactions in town, were also raising families. Substantial dwellings and the expected amenities were necessary and desirable. Women, in addition to attending to the chores necessary for subsistence—raising, feeding, and clothing large families, abundant work in the farmhouse gardens and kitchen, and tending to a myriad of domestic chores[22]—found the time and resources to invest in the external beautification and public prestige of their homes and towns.

The scenes of domesticity, rootedness, and commitment that imbue the histories and lithographs of this period would have been exceptional even twenty years earlier. Beginning in the late 1860s and continuing through the 1880s, extensive dryland grain farming had transformed large portions of the South Valley pastures into wheat and barley lands. However, many of the grain men, like the early stockmen, were not committed to the region as a permanent home, and a substantial portion of them sought only to make their fortunes quickly and leave. Expectedly, their landscapes were transitory and displayed few signs of domesticity. Comments by a number of contemporary observers testify to the general lack of human comforts. One observer remarks:

> The farming is, for the most part, slipshod and disgraceful. In the whole San Joaquin Valley, from Stockton to the Tejon Pass, I have not seen a dozen well-kept farms. . . . Men worth from $40,000 to $60,000 sometimes live in shanties and . . . have no sign of thrift. There is no vegetable garden, there are no trees, there is absolutely nothing to make life endurable or pleasant. . . . They are content with shabby houses.[23]

Another complains:

> There is an apparent want of comfort, which . . . is greatly heightened by the absence of shade trees. Intent on making money, few plant trees for shade or ornament.[24]

Visible signs of economic or emotional investment in the place itself rarely accompanied the impermanent attitudes and their associated landscapes that marked much of the South Valley during prior decades.

In the countryside the near ubiquitous presence of deciduous orchards and vineyards are indicative of a new period of expanding opportunities and devotion to place.[25] Nearly every ranch, farm, and rural homestead pictured in the lithographs is adorned with deciduous fruit trees. Although in actuality few farmers were yet able to make a living exclusively from their permanent plantings, their commitment to do so is evident in their long-term aspirations. These permanent plantings illustrate more than a simple agronomic choice. They became "an anchor that would enhance the attachment of settlers to their land."[26] In sharp contrast to the livestock and grain ranchers who preceded them, the planters of orchards and vineyards were intensely devoted to the welfare of their property. In essence, their landscapes convey an interest in improving the worth and appearance of their holdings and providing comfortable futures for their families within the local setting. For the first time in the South Valley even those settlers whose economic livelihood still consisted primarily of livestock or grain were becoming increasingly grounded in the region. Permanent cropping demanded considerable investment and careful nurturing over a period of years rather than for a single season. What was done or not done today, in large measure, determined the worth of the product during the upcoming years. The orchards and vineyards were tangible expressions of the homesteaders' commitment to a single place and desire, literally, to plant long-term roots.

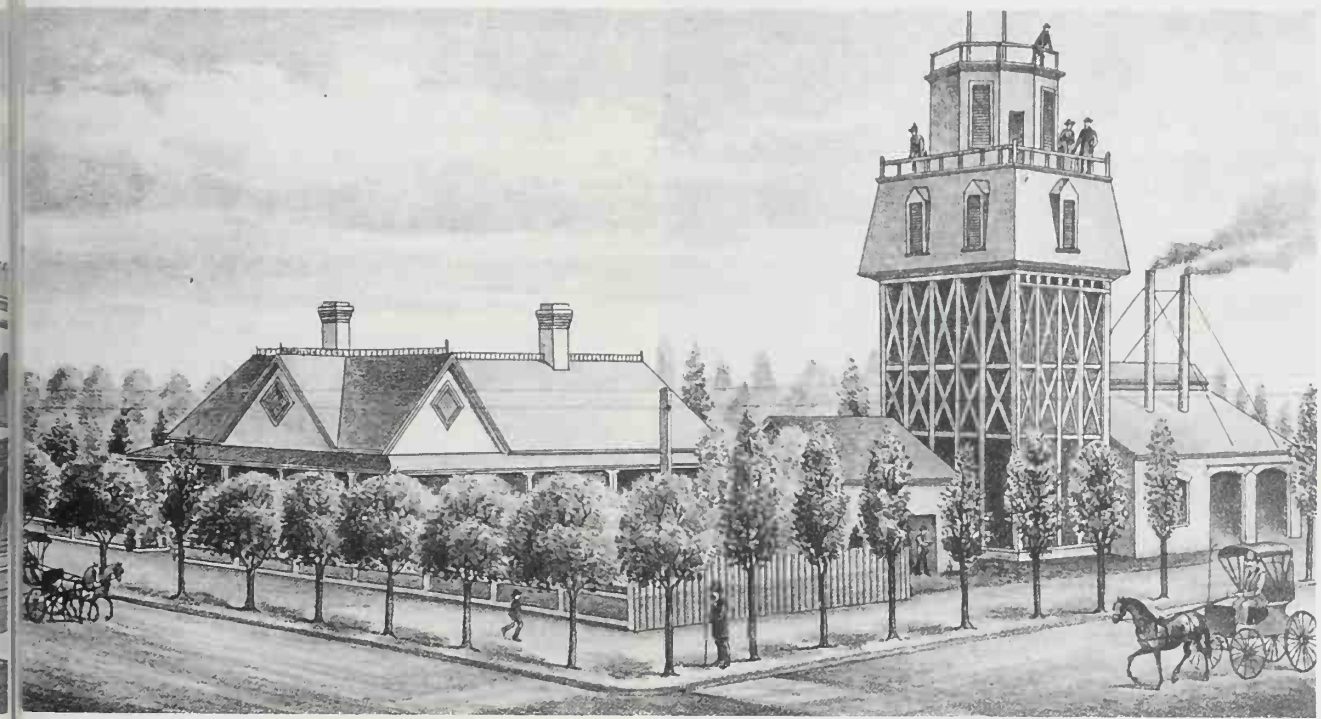
In town, domesticity and geographic permanence are manifest in the quality of the homes and businesses. As Thompson asserts in the history of the county, the prosperity of Visalia was well represented by the presence of two substan-

tial and wealthy banks. The privately owned Bank of Harrell and Son, for example, was housed in a large three-story brick building on Main Street and erected in 1889 by Jasper Harrell, one of the pioneers of Visalia. The buildings themselves, as well as their artistic rendering in the lithographs, convey the attitude that they had been built to last. Whether modest or wealthy, the residences and downtowns tended to be constructed of the best materials affordable and show contemporary stylistic flourishes in their Victorian designs, elaborate façades, and expensive wooden or iron fencing. Even the smallest edifice seems fastidious, and illustrates concern by both occupant and sketch artist for decorative pleasure and comfort. Likewise, commercial establishments were often imposing structures that evoked security, prestige, and grounded permanence. Money and care obviously were invested in the signing of these establishments: elaborate signs on imposing storefronts were the unmistakable indicators of prideful ownership and expectations of long-term prosperity. According to Thompson's historical sketch of Tulare, after having been rebuilt following a series of devastating fires, "the business portion of Tulare shows the handsomest and best constructed blocks of two and three-story buildings of any city of its class in the State."[27] These images offer a distinct contrast with the slipshod structures and rough and tumble towns that characterized a majority of the settlement infrastructure in the 1850s and 1860s.

Reinforcing the image of settlement maturity are the frequent representations of ornamental plants beautifying the homes and work places. The illustration of D. W. Madden's home and adjoining water works building juxtaposes resi-

Bank Building of J. Harrell, Visalia. The sketch artist's attention to detail in the elaborate façade of the bank building is offset by the careless absence of tracks for the urban train.

dential and business districts, and underscores the importance of a reliable regional water source. Decorative plantings garnish the yards around the houses and feature prominently at the entrances to drives and doorways. Exotic palms, poplar, chinaberry, pampas grass, and eucalyptus trees are just a few of the adorning plantings that accent the homes, drives, and fence lines in the illustrations. Even among the modest town dwellings, yards are shown embellished with vegetation for contextual pleasure. Given the tendency of the sketch artists to enhance their illustrations, it remains impossible to know for certain if ornamental plantings actually adorned every dwelling or if they were the willful addition of the illustrator. Nonetheless, the sketch artists created images that appealed to their clients' aesthetic tastes and desire for their ideal, if perhaps not real, residences. This in itself indicates the willingness of their patrons to have their property depicted in ways suggestive of permanence, and at the very least reflects many people's aspirations for long-term commitment. During a visit to the region north of Hanford, John Muir welcomed the change and noted that "cheerless shanties [were] being displaced by true homes embowered in trees and lovingly bordered with flowers; and contentment, which in California is perhaps the very rarest of the virtues, is now beginning to take root."[28] Actual or ideal, the lithographs clearly show that some of the profits of the settlers' economic lives now were being reinvested in the place itself, not only for future commercial gain but for substantial and comfortable homes as well.



Residence of D. W. Madden, East Tulare Street, Tulare, and Tulare Water Works. D. W. Madden, President. Water, electricity, and power are exemplified in this illustration giving testimony to the industry and progress of the region.

CENTRAL VALLEY FARMS: *Other Views*

Well-tended houses and ranches:

"The ranch house was set in a great grove of eucalyptus, oak, and cypress, enormous trees growing from out a lawn that was as green, as fresh, and as well-groomed as any in a garden in the city. This lawn flanked all one side of the house, and it was on this side that the family elected to spend most of its time. The other side, looking out upon the Home ranch toward Bonneville and the railroad, was but little used. A deep porch ran the whole length of the house here, and in the lower branches of a live oak near the steps Harran had built a little summerhouse for his mother. To the left of the ranch house itself, toward the County Road, were the bunk-house and kitchen for some of the hands. From the steps of the porch the view to the southward expanded to infinity. There was not so much as a twig to obstruct the view. In one leap the eye reached the fine, delicate line where earth and sky met, miles away." (Frank Norris, *The Octopus*, p. 46)

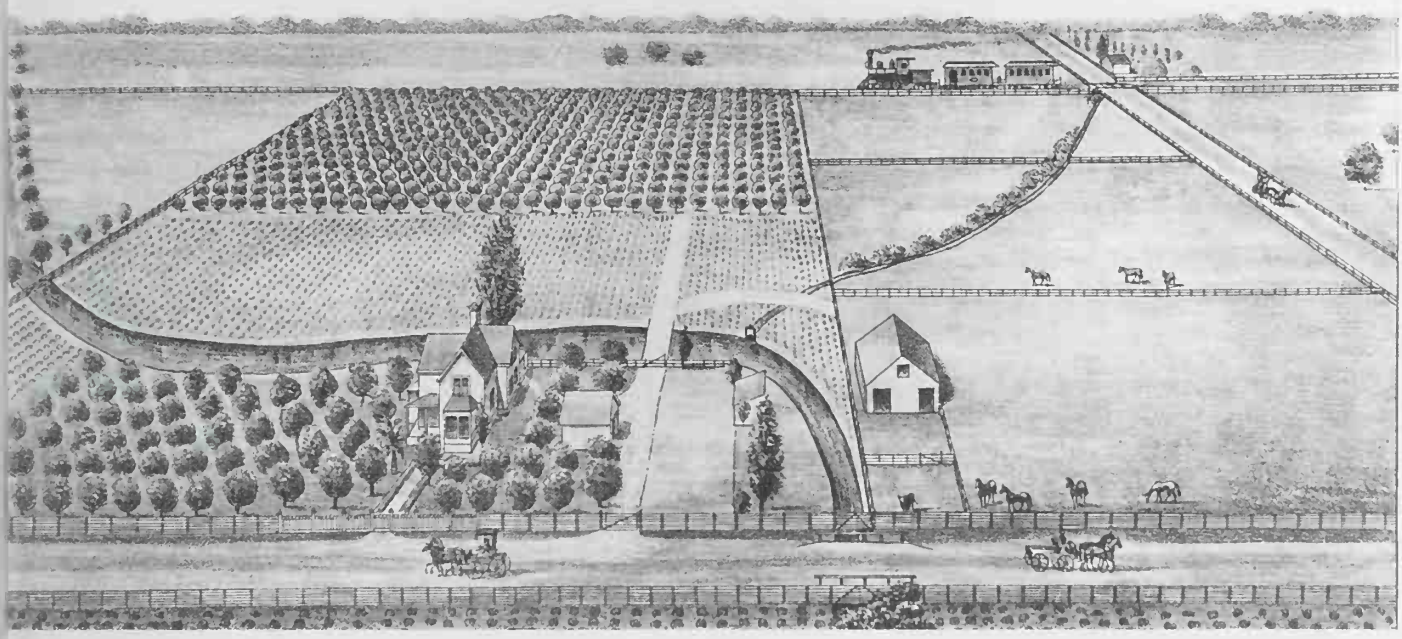
Scenery, water, Coast Range and Sierras:

"The morning was fine, the air nimble, brisk. On the summit of the skeletonlike tower of the artesian well, the windmill was turning steadily in a breeze from the southwest. The water in the irrigating ditch was well up. There was no cloud in the sky. Far off to the east and west, the bulwarks of the valley, the Coast Range and the foothills of the Sierras, stood out pale amethyst against the delicate pink and white sheen of the horizon. The sunlight was a veritable flood, crystal, limpid, sparkling, setting a feeling of gaiety in the air, stirring up an effervescence in the blood, a tumult of exuberance in the veins." (Frank Norris, *The Octopus*, p. 120)

AESTHETICS AND ORDER: RESHAPING THE LANDSCAPE

Accompanying the visual images of domesticity are the manifestations of practices and preferences carried from other American environments. The newly transplanted residents fashioned their settlements on designs and patterns familiar to most contemporary viewers residing in any well-occupied corner of the country. With few exceptions, the landscapes were shaped according to the cultural inheritance of their makers and reflected little in terms of the region's former physical or human heritage. The extent of this alien imposition is observable at every scale, from the regional layout of towns and fields to the plants chosen to adorn property boundaries and yards. The chroniclers themselves also played a part in representing this ideal. Their tendency to enhance the scenes they pictured by adding the amenities and maturity of well-established communities and diminishing the less desirable aspects suggests the aspiration of all parties to be in conformity with the rest of the nation. Slight variations are apparent, but the thematic diversity remains well within the parameters of the institutions, ideals, and materialism of the greater American realm.

Intrinsic to the majority of these lithographic illustrations is the powerful geometry of the American Public Lands Survey System, which was manifest over much of the American West but exhibited most pervasively in the southern San Joaquin Valley of California. The sketch of H. Hackett's ranch and residence, for example, illustrates the rigidity of the gridlines in the perpendicular roads and tracks and rectangular fields intersected by the curving contour of the canals. During the early 1850s, American surveyors had dutifully laid out the underpinnings for the system of land division that had been destined for the Great Central Valley when California joined the public domain of the United States in 1850. This alien settlement framework was expressly designed to ignore the physical features of the land and to respect the relic property divisions



Ranch and Residence of H. Hackett, Grangeville, Tulare County. The passage of the Wright Irrigation Act facilitated the expansion of irrigated settlement.

fostered by colonial peoples prior to statehood. However, with the exception of portions of the northern valley, ranchos were sparse in the South Valley and the surveyors encountered little hindrance in their efforts to map and uniformly divide the land by means of global coordinates and perpendicular lines. With the exception of some lingering lakes and marshes, the South Valley's physical geography was also conducive to the strict adherence to the national Public Lands Survey. Being relatively level and possessing few rocky outcrops, the valley's soils were composed of alluvial, lake, and terrace materials that were relatively easily worked.[29] Moreover, the pathways, boundaries, and habitats that had served the Native Californians for millennia were completely overlooked in the process of surveying the valley floor. As such, there were few physical impediments to bringing the cultural infrastructure into strict accordance with the geometric template.

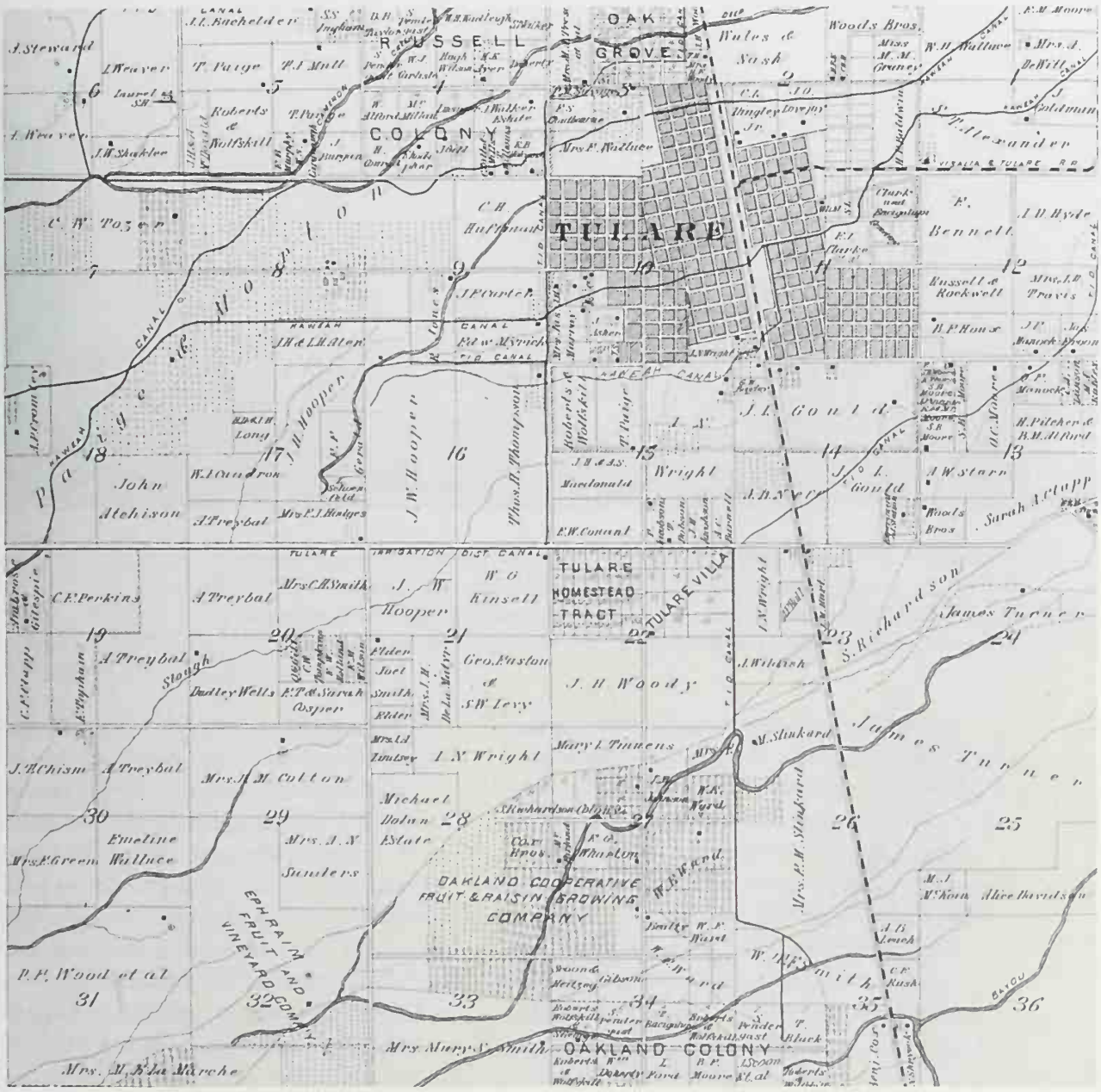
By the 1880s and 1890s, this superficial geometry had made a recognizable appearance upon the landscape as most of the South Valley's inhabitants were housed within the rectangular confines of town blocks or within structures aligned perpendicularly to section boundaries in the countryside. These dwellings and farms were also surrounded by drives, fields, and fences that adhered to the same organizational supremacy. Despite the pervasive conformity, a few exceptions to this national grid continued to exist. Particularly in the central and western portions of the South Valley, the hinterlands of pioneer ranches and a few enduring relics of native landscapes still remained. Amorphous oak groves that had yet to succumb to the ax, and streams which defied the artificially imposed order of the land office by imposing their own rule of gravity, contrasted sharply with the otherwise orderly scheme. In many of the illustrations, streams appear vaguely merely as secondary components on the horizon in thin sinuous lines of undifferentiated vegetation despite their importance in furnishing essential irrigation water. The most prominent exceptions to the rectangular survey were human constructions such as roads, canals, and railroads. For example, while interregional wagon and stage

roads were usually straight or slightly curvilinear, they were routed with transport efficiency in mind and thus rarely congruous with the survey lines. Topography is also at work: still subservient to gravity, the settlers aligned their artificial canals according to the subtle, yet controlling, relief of the land.

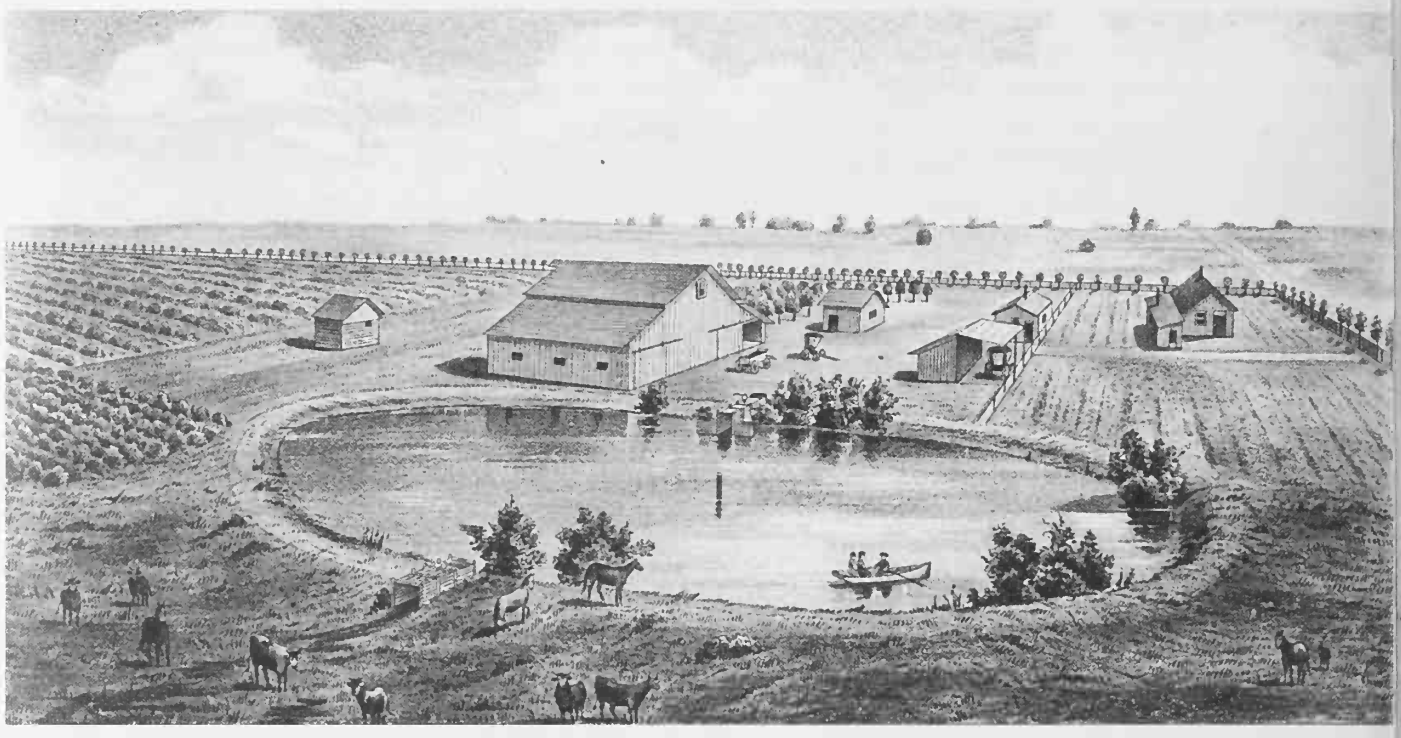
Railroad infrastructures also deviated from the government survey pattern but possessed their own particular geometry, for the imperial designs of the "Big Four" proved more powerful than the national grid, and the railroad magnates constructed routes and towns that optimized both transport efficiency and profitable settlement opportunities. The resulting landscapes were geometric with a slight twist: the tracks were necessarily linear but usually oblique to the cardinal directions, and the older downtowns possessed rectangular streets but their alignments were determined by the orientation of the tracks rather than by the surveyors' gridwork. Inherent in these illustrations is the testimony to a basic organization that imitated and reflected the web of parallels, meridians, and tracks that had been willed by the founding fathers and the wealthy empire builders who succeeded them. The section map showing the town of Tulare and adjacent homesteads and ranches is a fine illustration of the diagonal tilt oriented by the railroad and superimposed upon the north-south and east-west rectangularity of the grid lines. Particularly telling is the section in the center of town that is squared to the diagonal orientation of the tracks whereas the outlying areas of town are aligned to the survey grid. As a relic of this original layout, many streets in Tulare still intersect at abrupt angles marking the competing powers of the survey system and the railroad.

Like the survey system, the cultural fabric of this youthful civilization had been introduced from afar and derived little substance from a relationship with the local setting. American settlers were neither influenced by nor forced to adjust to a preexisting cultural presence to any serious degree, and the fertile land and mild climate accommodated a vast spectrum of imported plants, animals, and economic pursuits.[30] Furthermore, the building styles and materials represented in the lithographs reflect little of the endemic features of the new land but faithfully replicate the architectural traditions of the East and Midwest from where many of the settlers had come.[31] The presence of the railroad insured that the settlers' customary architectural preferences could be handily satisfied with plans, building materials, contractors, familiar decorative plants, and an abundance of affordable labor.[32] Thus, adjustments to valley living required only minimal tinkering, and basic American cultural traditions and styles took root quite successfully.[33]

The sketch artists imposed their own aesthetic upon these displayed scenes of contemporary life that reveals the subtext to their stories. During and before the Middle Ages it was common for European monks to decorate the margins of calendars with idyllic scenes of productive human endeavors. Likewise, the lithographers appear to have accentuated their own illustrations with contemporary subjects and activities that capture the common ideals of the period. These pictorial embellishments rarely emphasize natural landscape features or the cultural heritage of the valley, but focus on the tangible determinants of successful conquest and settlement: railroads, power machinery, and irrigation. Pride of ownership figures prominently in the scene on the Hamilton-Dale ranch as the proprietor, presumably, stands proudly astride his modern harvesting machine drawn by a large team of horses. From the very beginning of American settlement, the land in the South Valley was used primarily for commercial pursuits while produce was integrated immediately into American and global market infrastructures. As such, the settler had to gamble on fluctuating markets and cope with unpredictable environmental circumstances. Irrigation, power machinery, and the railroad provided the means, although not the guarantee, to win this gamble. In the context of the day, the generous and prideful display of these fixtures of modernity and economic viability is understandable.



Township 20 South Range 24 East, Tulare County. The railroad's true stature in shaping the landscapes of the Valley is vividly illustrated by the incorporated maps where towns like Tulare were both founded by the railroad and initially forced to conform to its alignments.



Home of Geo. S. Lee, Pixley, Tulare County. Even ostensibly natural scenes such as this illustrate the human domination over the landscape. In no case is the situation reversed: Tulare Lake, the King's River, and other physical landmarks are either unrepresented or illustrated as vague backdrops to the human scene playing out in the foreground.

The water that provided the settler with the opportunity to tap the full economic potential of the South Valley appears mainly within the controlled confines of canals and wells. During the 1870s, large-scale irrigation and diversified land use practices accelerated the transformation of South Valley landscapes that had been initiated in the 1850s. The state's passage of the Wright Irrigation District Act of 1887 strengthened the cooperative irrigation districts' access to stream water, and hastened the construction of numerous canals intersecting the land. With time, new sources of power and technologies allowed for wells capable of drawing water from underground aquifers. Consequently, wind and gas-powered pumps sprang up across the landscape.[34] In nearly all of the illustrations windmills, water storage tanks, canals, or artesian wells are evidence of the settlers' reliance on a dependable source of water. These artificial systems were important foundations for settlement but were far from being visually ubiquitous. Where nature was too dry for the preferred crop, the settlers rerouted water whenever possible rather than adjust to inherent environmental limitations. Canals, pumps, and artesian wells provided the ability to pioneer the drier lands to the west and farm the higher terraces between the river deltas adjacent to the Sierra foothills in the east. Irrigation also furnished the settlers with a degree of certainty and flexibility in a fluctuating climatic and economic setting. As one contemporary observer advised: "be sure of water—whatever else you lack, see to it that you have this *sine qua non*. With it you can raise almost anything that grows on the face of the earth; without it crops will be uncertain and failure frequent."[35]

Many of the fields show men at work. However, the men are rarely depicted without machinery. Even simple plows are relatively scarce as are rudimentary hoes and shovels. Instead, the fields are often interrupted by harvesting machines drawn by large teams of horses. Occasionally steam power is added to the scenario and promi-

Scene on Hamilton-Dale Ranch, T. J. Dale, Proprietor. Frank Norris describes the impressive spectacle of row upon row of six-horse teams harnessed to imposing harvesting machines as a deafening procession dominating the expansive fields forcing the earth to yield its bounty.

nently displayed. The message is inescapable: the inhabitants of the valley possessed modern conveniences and would make the land yield to them through technological applications of force. Machines, including water pumps, allowed farm owners to cultivate large sections of land efficiently and, if the marketplace allowed, profitably. Evidence of the growing reliance on new forms of energy and powered devices were also reproduced in town settings. Among those illustrated are urban locomotives, industrial shops, windmills, and utility lines. These manifestations of modernity evoked the reality of the increasing capability to modify nature and make her yield to the desires of its occupants. Moreover, technology and the energy that powered it reveal the settlers' own appreciation for conveniences, modernism, and novelty. The residents of this recent frontier possessed the attributes and abilities to make the land their own.

By the 1880s the short American courtship of the valley's lands had taught the settlers about regional economic potentials, and impressive technological innovations had been developed to more efficiently pursue them. The railroad was a major progenitor and lifeline to the valley's landscapes in the 1880s and 1890s, and figures prominently in the backdrops and foregrounds of numerous lithographic settings. The development of increasingly efficient farm machinery and refrigerated storage and railcars allowed farmers to grow and ship to market a more diverse inventory of produce. By the late 1880s the fabric of the rail network had grown relatively dense, especially on the east side of the valley. Yet, it is unlikely that every farmstead illustrated replete with nearby rails and trains actually had this visual proximity. Nevertheless, few patrons would be disappointed by their inclusion. The railroad was claimed to kill "little businesses" and build "great ones."[36] Therefore, this symbol augured the settlers' own greatness and success. Furthermore, the locomotive and its lines were the most powerful evocations of a modern and

progressive civilization. Reminders of their accessibility to modern amenities and the reinforcement of one's linkage to the nation at large were probably welcomed by the pioneers of the South Valley. It now seemed possible that the region was capable of fulfilling the promise that "for people with moderate means, no portion of California is better than the southern San Joaquin Valley."[37]

Conspicuously absent from these illustrations are components of the physical setting: natural species of vegetation, native animals, natural hydrology, topographic features, or environmental annoyances such as fog and mosquitoes. The most remarkable feature of the county, even as its stands in popular opinion today, is its proximity to the Sierra Nevada. Thompson's narrative remarks about the settled landscapes of Tulare county make no mention of the physical aspects of the flatlands where the majority of farmers and ranchers were establishing their homes; he gives abundant praise, however, to the grandeur and beauty of the Sierra Nevada.[38] The lack of attention to the natural ingredients of the land in the lithographs is understandable, for they represent the content of challenges for the American settler. The new occupational order that consisted of town development, irrigated agriculture, dryland grain, and livestock meant that the conflicting aspects of nature had to be tamed or eliminated. The indigenous competitors for the farmers' produce had to be vanquished, and any hindrances to efficient husbandry had to be removed. The hogwallows and intermittent sloughs were leveled, trees felled, and marauding varmints such as rabbits, squirrels, gophers, coyotes, foxes, and badgers exterminated. Stream control and channelization commenced in order to reduce the threat of flood and optimize the conditions for irrigation. While the farmers and ranchers were busy transforming the landscape to make it productive, the artists were filling in the gap between what the farmers had created and the picture perfect landscape that was their and their patrons' ideal.

Even Tulare Lake, one of the most prominent features of the landscape, is absent from these scenes. Although the lake figures prominently on the county and relevant township maps, it did not stand alone as a feature to be praised, but as an unsightly impediment to agrarian Manifest Destiny. The lake was dying owing to the diversion of water, yet according to the consensus of the day it was not disappearing fast enough. One contemporary assessment described the lake as "the one natural feature of the county that our conscience will not let us praise. . . . It is devoid of a single element of beauty and its uses are few. . . . It is a great, unsightly mud-hole."[39] Even Thompson remarks upon the peculiarity of the lake and its degree of recession since the early American occupation although he acknowledges its productivity for the harvest of the abundant fish and waterfowl.[40] In reality, the entire South Valley had little to offer the contemporary American other than an unusually fertile setting for the recreation of national lifeways and landscapes. To many, the untamed portion of the valley was "infinite, flat, cheerless, heat-ridden, unrolling like a gigantic scroll toward the faint shimmer of the distant horizons, with here and there an isolated live oak to break the sombre monotony."[41]

In the few instances where the artists emphasized the natural landscape, it is shown in association with features of human manufacture. Instead of depicting these subjects for their own sake, they are often presented as an object of curiosity or in the context of human pleasure and diversion. The modest home of George S. Lee seems unremarkable except for the small lake formed by an artesian well offering refreshing entertainment and an abundant supply of water for the orchards, crops, and animals surrounding it. In the few instances where a special feature is shown, it is often isolated and manipulated so that it is impossible to determine its original location. For example, an especially large oak or an artesian well may be enlarged and inserted into the picture. Some of these ostensibly natural features are in fact non-native imports such as a palm or fig tree singled out for inclusion. In most instances, however, the scene being displayed is

The photograph of a Chinese immigrant accompanying a 1898 publication illustrates an unheralded presence in the Valley that is undocumented in the lithographs. The displayed landscapes are indirect testimony to the substantial contributions of numerous unpropertied laborers.
CARL EWALD GRUNSKY, *IRRIGATION NEAR BAKERSFIELD, CALIFORNIA* (WASHINGTON, DC: GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, 1898), BETWEEN PAGES 28 – 29.

pronounced for its bucolic and decidedly civilized features. The new civilization was made to work through the manipulation and, if necessary, the destruction of the preceding environmental setting.

UNREVEALED LANDSCAPES

A candid portrait derived solely from the lithographs of the period would provide a very incomplete characterization of the region. Strikingly absent in the visual art is evidence of the demographic reality. In contrast to the displayed scenes of domesticity are the keystone efforts of those laborers who helped to mold the California landscape. The landscapes of the landless, the ethnically different, the hired farm and ranch hands, and the urban wage earners are all missing from these narrow representations. The photograph of a Chinese laborer at work in the field no doubt represents the vast majority of field laborers, tenant farmers, and landless workers who were crucial for the productivity and success that the monied and landed patrons proudly portray. Much of the subject matter in the sketches was contracted; therefore, the selection of images largely reflected the preferences of those people with money and property enough to afford being documented in this fashion. Furthermore, the liberal artistic license taken by the chroniclers themselves in representing their patrons and their assets to the best advantage distorts the quotidian reality the majority of residents were likely to encounter. The manual labor of farm and ranch hands is neglected in favor of the farmer commanding teams of horses and modern power equipment and of women pursuing leisure activities. Bucolic settings surrounding the elaborate residences of the well-to-do obscure the makeshift tents and unadorned working environments of the poor. Neither were the living environments of the hired hands of other nationalities nor those Americans who worked as laborers on the ranches or for business establishments portrayed.[42] The shacks, districts, tenements, skid rows, and makeshift shelters of these people are conspicuously absent from the scenery recorded by the lithographers. This amounted not only to the underrepresentation of the domestic and service environments of the working class, but also to

the assumption that persons of any race without property and laboring for wages were less suitable representatives of South Valley culture.[43]

Nevertheless, while these carefully crafted images neglect the visual representation of many of those individuals responsible for building the railroads and canals and for working the fields and tending the animals that so often appear in the lithographs, their presence is subtly revealed throughout. Particularly noteworthy are the Chinese who initially constructed the railroads.[44] After completion of that task, they provided a substantial portion of the labor force that built the canals and worked the fields. Many Chinese even became active participants in the urban service industries and in growing vegetables for local consumption.[45] Many other recent immigrants and Americans also worked as wage earners on the farms, in the railroad repair yards, in the building trades, and in the hotels. Without these people the landscapes to which the sketch artists devoted their attention would not have been possible. In this light, the lithographs of the 1880s and 1890s are the legitimate heritage of both the propertied and underclass who fashioned them.[46]

The absence of non-white inhabitants as specified subjects in the lithographs correlates with their representation in print. The written assessments of the period are more forthright about the prevailing perceptions of people of different races. The widespread contempt for the Chinese, for instance, was illustrated by one contemporary who observed that "[t]he Chinaman still fills an important place in California country life, but the white man ousts him wherever he comes into competition with him for the best places.[47] A reasonable glimpse into the prevailing attitudes toward all people of non-Northern European heritage is perhaps best conveyed by the author Frank Norris, an individual usually sympathetic to the underprivileged. In *The Octopus*, Norris describes the final slaughter of rabbits after a massive drive and tells how the "Anglo-Saxon spectators round about drew back in disgust, but the hot, degenerated blood of Portuguese, Mexican, and mixed Spaniard boiled up in excitement at this wholesale slaughter."[48] Regardless of the sympathies, the prejudice and stereotypes of th time ran deep.

In conclusion, commitment, domesticity, an permanence are the prevailing themes that uni the lithographs of the southern San Joaquin Valley in the 1880s and 1890s. Despite thei selective focus, the landscapes depicted in thes portrayals represent a unique period of valley history. The sketch artists and lithographers ca tured an era that was well on its way to becoming transformed into an American landscape b machinery, hired labor, newfound energy source the latest innovations in irrigation and agricul- ture, and unfettered human ingenuity and opt mism. These drawings capture the optimism, pride, and tenacity of those settlers with sufficie means and hope who chose to make this new land their permanent home. Yet, unwittingly, th artists and their patrons also captured the unde represented subjects of their idyllic scenes in th unrevealed landscapes and undocumented labo ers who were indispensable members and resi- dents of South Valley life. Furthermore, not onl did these chroniclers exhibit a prideful display the successful occupants of the valley, they also represented the contemporary cultural presump tions and attitudes both in their choice of subjects and the domestic scenes that mirrored the more ostensibly cultivated parts of the nation at large.[49] These lithographs are a valuable docume tary: they serve as a visual catalog of the people, environmental context, and life of this youthful American region, and reveal the more elusive actors and agents behind the scenes that bring these static pictures to life.

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NOTES

GARDEN AND MINE, PARADISE AND PURGATORY: LANDSCAPES OF LEISURE AND LABOR IN CALIFORNIA, PP 8-27

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Raymond Williams, "Ideas of Nature," in *Ecology: The Shaping Inquiry*, ed. Jonathan Benthall (London: Longman, 1972), 159.

Alan Taylor, "Natural Inequalities: Social and Environmental Histories," *Environmental History*, 1/4 (October 1996), 7.

Gray Brechin connects the Barron Estate with the New Almaden Mine in his essay "Grace Marchant and the Global Garden," in *The Meaning of Gardens*, eds. Mark Francis and Randolph T. Hester, Jr. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990), 227-28. See also Brechin's "A Little Place in the Country," *California Monthly* (October 1979), 12-14.

Carleton Watkins, *Views of Thurlow Lodge, Volumes I and II, Mollie Latham, Photographs C. Watkins* (1874). The Barron Estate underwent two name changes at the hands of subsequent owners. Barron, who had no heirs, died in 1871, and California Senator Milton S. Latham bought the estate, rebuilding the house after the original residence burned down and adding barns, a smithy, staff housing, stables and a carriage house. Latham, who renamed the estate Thurlow Lodge, was a banker with mining interests in Montana who also owned tracts of redwoods and timber mills north of San Francisco on the Russian River, connected to San Francisco Bay by his own narrow gauge railroad. He lost his fortune in the depression of the mid-70s, when demand for lumber for construction slumped, and died bankrupt. The estate was then acquired (1883) by the widow of Mark Hopkins. Reputedly the richest woman in the United States, Mary Frances Sherwood Hopkins, in turn, renamed the house Sherwood Hall (Sherwood being her family name). This became the main residence of her adopted son, Timothy, to whom she gave the estate when she returned to live on the east coast. Timothy Hopkins (one of the original trustees of Stanford University and the founder of Palo Alto) placed the estate on a more self-supporting basis akin to European country estates by building up a substantial nursery business growing violets, roses, chrysanthemums, carnations, and sweet peas. He also produced dried fruit from some nine thousand trees as well as hay, poultry and eggs. Otherwise, the basic design of the lawns and the non-working portions of the estate with which this essay is primarily concerned remained more or less intact after Barron's death. The mansion was abandoned following the 1906 earthquake, the family moving into one of the gatehouses, which they enlarged (this is the one that survives). Shortly after assuming ownership in 1941 on the death of Timothy's wife, Mary, Stanford University sold the contents of the house, and pieces of the mansion itself, to Hollywood studios as film props. The remainder of the house and buildings associated with the nursery and orchard business were demolished in 1941 to make way for a military hospital (Dibble) to treat casualties of the war in the Pacific. The most reliable and complete source of information on the Barron Estate/Thurlow Lodge/Sherwood Hall—I have stuck with the original name to avoid confusion—is found in the notes of Dorothy F. Regnery, a local historian who conducted much of her research as part of a bid to place the estate's gatehouse on the National Register of Historic Places (granted in 1986). See National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form (April 23, 1986), Box 1, Folder 19, Collection SC-20 (Regnery Papers), Menlo Park Historical Association, Merrill History Room, Menlo Park Public Library, Menlo Park, California (hereafter, MPHA), and a paper (untitled) presented at a joint meeting of the Palo Alto Historical Association and the Menlo Park Historical Association, May 18, 1986, Box 1, Folder 17, Collection SC-20, MPHA. Only the more strictly architectural and horticultural facets of the Menlo Park estates have been studied in depth. See Sewall Bogart, "Four Turn-of-the-Century South County Gentlemen's Farms': Thurlow Lodge-Sherwood Hall," *La Peninsula* (San Mateo County Historical Association), 19/2 (Fall 1977), 4-13. The purpose of this essay is not to accumulate further information about these aspects of the Barron Estate and its successors or to get involved in the larger history of garden design (or narrowly local matters).

[7]See, though, Douglas R. Nickel, *Carleton Watkins: The Art of Perception* (New York/San Francisco: Harry N. Abrams/San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1999), Plates 16, 17 and 18; Robert Dawson and Gray Brechin, *Farewell, Promised Land: Waking from the California Dream* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 42.

[8]Charles Nordhoff, *California: For Health, Pleasure, and Residence: A Book for Travellers and Settlers* (Berkeley: Ten Speed Press, 1973 [1872]), 65. The "big trees" referred to were the Mariposa grove of *Sequoia gigantea*, included within the original grant of public land to California for a state park in 1864. New Almaden features most often in California's legal history. A major and highly complex dispute over the title to the mine required President Lincoln's intervention and a final settlement in 1863 by a "disinterested outsider" (Emperor William I of Germany). For a general history of the mine, see Edgar H. Bailey, "The New Almaden Quicksilver Mines," *Geological Guidebook of the San Francisco Bay Counties, Bulletin 154* (Division of Mines, San Francisco, 1951), New Almaden Mines Papers, Collection M0270, Series IX (Publications and Printed Material, 1843-1977), Box 113, Folder 3, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University Libraries (hereafter, SUL).

[9]Henry M. Leicester, "The New Almaden Mine: The First Chemical Industry in California," *Journal of Chemical Education*, 20/5 (May 1943), 237.

[10]Paul Groth and Todd W. Bressi, eds. *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Brian Black, *Petrolia: The Landscape of America's First Oil Boom* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000); Adam Rome, *The Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

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[11]Virginia Scott Jenkins, *The Lawn: A History of an American Obsession* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994); F. Herbert Bormann, Diana Balmori and Gordon T. Geballe, *Redesigning the American Lawn: A Search for Environmental Harmony* (Yale University Press: New Haven, 1993), 49, 96-97; Michael Pollan, *Second Nature: A Gardener's Education* (New York: Dell, 1991), 65-78; Georges Teyssot, ed., *The American Lawn* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999). Scientists and psychologists have advanced a deeper, less culturally specific explanation of human affinity for open grassy expanses based on humankind's evolution on the African grasslands. On the socio-cultural construction of wilderness, see William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness: or, getting Back to the Wrong Nature," *Environmental History* 1/1 (January 1996), 7-28.

[12]John Muir, *The Mountains of California* (1894), in *John Muir: The Eight Wilderness Books* (London: Diadem Books, 1992), 296. Kenneth R. Olwig has explored this common ground with reference to Yosemite National Park and Stourhead in Wiltshire, the latter being one of the finest examples of an eighteenth-century English landscape park, now in the custody of the National Trust. See "Sexual Cosmology: Nation and Landscape at the Conceptual Interstices of Nature and Culture; or, What Does Landscape Really Mean?," in *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*, 307-43, and 'Reinventing Common Nature: Yosemite and Mount Rushmore – A Meandering Tale of a Double Nature,' in *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995), 379-408.

[13]George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World, 1791-1795, Volume II* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1984), 717-18. The absence of undergrowth on which Vancouver remarked was originally attributable to management by local Indian peoples; periodic burning, by stimulating new vegetative growth, maximized populations of wild grazers, thereby improving hunting opportunities. The open landscape was maintained by Spanish colonists' dispersed cattle grazing. See J.O.M. Broek, *The Santa Clara Valley, California: A Study in Landscape Changes* (Utrecht, Netherlands: N.V.A. Oosthoek, 1932).

[14]Menlo Park was originally settled (and named) in 1853 by a couple of Irish immigrants, who found that the landscape reminded them of home in Menlough, County Galway.

[15]The extent of actual similarity between western American garden-parks and English country estates in physical, spatial, functional and social terms is a matter that lies beyond the scope of this essay. Many English country estates were the primary residences of their owners and much bigger than the Menlo Park estates, which—sealed off as they usually were from the (often non-green) landscape beyond by thick screens of trees and shrubs—some might characterize instead as examples of the *villa suburbana*.

[16]James Woods, *Recollections of Pioneer Work in California* (San Francisco: Joseph Winterburn, 1878), 80.

[17]Alan Hynding, *From Frontier to Suburb: The Story of the San Mateo Peninsula* (Belmont, Ca.: Star Publishing Co., 1982), 114-17, 70-74.

[18]On Watkins's Yosemite art, see John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 134-37, 141-42, and Kevin DeLuca and Anne Demo, "Imagining Nature and Erasing Class and Race: Carleton Watkins, John Muir, and the Construction of Wilderness," *Environmental History*, 6/4 (October 2001), 546-47.

[19]See Peter E. Palmquist, *Carleton Watkins: Photographer of the American West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 50-51.

[20]Filoli, the area's only great mansion and estate that survives intact, belonged to a second wave of more modest estate creation in the wake of the earthquake and fire. Constructed in classical revival style between 1915 and 1917, the house is the centerpiece for sixteen acres of formal gardens set within a seven hundred-acre game preserve at the southern end of Crystal Springs Reservoir. Filoli housed William Bourn, whose father had owned one of the nation's largest gold mines. It has been in the custody of the National Trust for Historic Preservation since 1975.

[21]John Findlay, *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture after 1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 117-59. On the origins of corporate parks, see Louise Mozingo, "Thoroughly Modern in Concept but Down to Earth and Rugged," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*, 20/1 (2000), 25-56. One of the first firms to set up at Stanford Industrial Park, the world's first university-owned industrial park, was the fledgling Hewlett-Packard Company.

[22]The role of imitation in the West was initially highlighted in Earl Pomeroy, "Toward a Reorientation of Western History: Continuity and Environment," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 41 (March 1955), 581-82. For cultural colonialism in the context of horticultural and landscape history, see David C. Streatfield, "Paradise' on the Frontier: Victorian Gardens on the San Francisco Peninsula," *Garden History*, 12 (1984), 60, 76, and "Western Expansion," in *Keeping Eden: A History of Gardening in America*, ed. Walter T. Punch (Little, Brown and Company/Massachusetts Horticultural Society, Boston, 1992): 98, 115. Streatfield's article in *Garden History* includes a photograph taken from the tower of Thurlow Lodge that looks out over the estate to the golden hills beyond, but the text only mentions the estate in passing (62).

[23]Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950), 124.

[24]Amelia Ransome Neville, *The Fantastic City* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, c.1875), 207. The estate's second owner bought up the water company on Barron's death to guarantee a supply. The third owner, however, eliminated this dependence on external supplies by building two water towers able to hold fifty thousand gallons of artesian water.

[25]There appears to have been no attempt at Sherwood Hall (or its predecessors on the site) to erase the evidence of work. On English estates, garden and other staff were required to melt away discreetly whenever the owners and their guest were at large in the grounds (country house owners in Worcestershire went so far as to construct a passageway under the lawn, nicknamed the "Snobs tunnel"). There are no written records to reveal what Chinese workers thought about the Menlo Park estates they gardened. But weeding and planting were undoubtedly preferable to the dangerous,

often deadly work undertaken by their fellow countrymen who had blasted railroad tunnels through the nearby Santa Cruz Mountains some five years earlier (1879). For the injuries and deaths associated with the latter enterprise, see Patricia Nelson Limerick, "Disorientation and Reorientation: The American Landscape Discovered from the West," *Journal of American History*, 79/3 (December 1992), 1033. Limerick notes that the actual work of environmental change in the American West was usually carried out by ethnic and racial minorities, who also bore the brunt of the dangers that accompanied that transformation.

[6]Isabella Cass (1856-1932), Diary 1884-85, Special Collections SCM 109, Item CSUV93-A52, SUL.

[7]Albert E. Gray, "Plain of Oaks," in *Picturesque California*, ed. John Muir (New York/San Francisco: J. Dewing, 1888), 406.

[8]Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 22.

[9]Gray, "Plain of Oaks," 406.

[10]Nordhoff, *California*, 122.

[11]For emphasis on the sublime as an imaginative response to the wild new world, see Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 43-83; Hans Huth, *Nature and the American: Three Centuries of Changing Attitudes* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990 [1957]), 11-12, 24-25, 44-53, 87-104, 129-47; Runte, *National Parks*, 11-28; Andrew Wilton and Tim Barringer, *American Sublime: Landscape Painting in the United States, 1820-1880* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). The definitive discussion of the ideology of the sublime, as articulated by eighteenth-century Europeans such as Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant, remains Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997 [1959]). The aesthetic of the picturesque, associated in particular with the eighteenth-century Englishman, William Gilpin, is more complicated: it could be applied to both pastoral and wilder landscapes.

[12]Frederick Law Olmsted, *Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England* (London: David Bogue, 1852), 79, 87, 88.

[13]Frederick Law Olmsted, "The Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Tree Grove," in *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents*, ed. Lary M. Dilsaver (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1994), 13, 16.

[34]Olmsted, *Walks and Talks of an American Farmer*, 213.

[35]Frederick Law Olmsted to John Olmsted, March 11, 1864, in Victoria Post Ranney, ed. *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted, Vol. 5: The California Frontier, 1863-1865* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 207.

[36]Olmsted, "Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Tree Grove," 21-22.

[37]Rural cemeteries on the outskirts of Boston, Philadelphia and New York City (dating from the 1830s) served as de facto public parks by the 1840s: Sears, *Sacred Places*, 99-116.

[38]Mark Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Rebecca Solnit, *Savage Dreams: A Journey into the Landscape Wars of the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

[39]The term *ha-ha* derives from the exclamation of surprise that was typically the reaction of strollers who found their saunterings into the wider landscape beyond the house suddenly interrupted, realizing that they had been taken in by what Simon Schama calls a "poetic lie." See *Landscape and Memory* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), 539. The ha-ha's effect is entirely lost, however, if approached from the other side.

[40]Williams, "Ideas of Nature," 159-60; *The Country and the City* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1973), 105-6. It is worth repeating Blatchford's point that the profits from coal mines and factories often facilitated the establishment and maintenance of country estates that were both physically separate from and, especially in coal mining areas, often directly adjacent to these sources of wealth, which, ironically, were therefore often directly responsible for degradation within the landscapes of leisure.

[41]Report of an interview between a Committee of the Menlo Park Anti-Chinese Association and Timothy Hopkins, Menlo Park, March 28, 1886, Journals of Charles A. Gunnison, Special Collections M0179, SUL. Gunnison, a poet, was a family friend.

[42]Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1987), 99-100; "The Gold Rush and the Shaping of the American West," in *Something in the Soil: Legacies and Reckonings in the New West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000), 225.

[43]William Cronon, "Kennecott Journey: The Paths out of Town," in *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past*, eds. William Cronon, George Miles and Jay Gitlin (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992), 33.

[44]Ibid., 40.

[45]Anon. *Hutching's California Magazine*, September 1856; as reproduced in *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 18, 1928, New Almaden Mines Papers, Collection M0270, Series IX, Box 116, Folder 8, SUL.

[46]Given that would-be miners who were Indian and Mexican—and women of all sorts—were obstructed and subject to discriminatory acts from the earliest stages of the Gold Rush, the very notion of an egalitarian first phase is open to question. See Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000).

[47]William V. Wells, "A Visit to the Quicksilver Mines of New Almaden," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 29 (June 1863), 29-30.

[48]J. Ross Browne, "Down in the Cinnabar Mines, a Visit to New Almaden in 1865," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 31 (October 1865), 552, 556, New Almaden Mines Papers, Collection M0270, Series IX, Box 112, Folder 6, SUL.

[49]Watkins also photographed scenes of staggering devastation resulting from hydraulic mining at the Malakoff Diggin(g)s in the gold country of California's Nevada County (1871). See Raymond F. Dasmann, "Environmental Changes Before and After the Gold Rush," in *A Golden State: Mining and Economic Development in Gold Rush California*, eds. James J. Rawls and Richard J. Orsi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 106.

[50]Wells, "A Visit to the Quicksilver Mines," 39; Browne, "Down in the Cinnabar Mines," 552, 560.

[51]John Keast Lord, *The Naturalist in Vancouver Island and British Columbia, Vol. 1*

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(2 vols) (London: Richard Bentley, 1866), 199, 215, 203, 210-11, 218.

[52]Limerick, "The Gold Rush and the Shaping of the American West," 216; Limerick, "The Shadows of Heaven Itself," in *Something in the Soil*, 277-78.

[53]A.S. Downer, as quoted in Robert Couchman, "Almaden Mine Discovery is Credited to Indians," *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 18, 1928, New Almaden Mines Papers, Collection M0270, Series IX, Box 116, Folder 8, SUL.

[54]Browne, "Down in the Cinnabar Mines," 550-51.

[55]For an evocative contemporary portrait of Butte, see Timothy Egan, *Lasso the Wind: Away to the New West* (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), 147-65.

[56]Richard A. Bartlett, *The New Country: A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776-1890* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 263-66. Columbia Gardens closed in 1973 to make way for open pit mining expansion.

[57]As quoted in Andrew Delbanco, "Sunday in the Park with Fred" [review of Withold Rybczynski, *A Clearing in the Distance: Frederick Law Olmsted and America in the Nineteenth Century* (Scribner, New York, 1999)], *The New York Review of Books*, XLVII/1 (January 20, 2000), 56. See also Frederick Law Olmsted, "Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns," (1870) in *Civilizing American Cities: A Selection of Frederick Law Olmsted's Writings on City Landscape*, ed. S.B. Sutton (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1971), 96-97; Rybczynski, *A Clearing in the Distance*, 363.

[58]Gunther Barth, *City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 38.

[59]G.H. McMurry, "Almaden," *Los Gatos Mail News*, December 30, 1925, New Almaden Mines Papers, Collection M0270, Series IX, Box 116, Folder 8, SUL; A.C. Innes, "New Almaden Fifty Years Ago," 131-32, Series IX, Box 113, Folder 9, SUL.

[60]Laura Wood Roper, *FLO: A Biography of Frederick Law Olmsted* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 244-57. For similar views on the brutality and disorder of mining camps, see Josiah Royce, *California, from the Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco: A Study of American Character* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1948 [1886]), 214-96.

[61]Innes, "New Almaden Fifty Years Ago," 143; Amanda M. Miller, "Picturesque Quicksilver Mining Towns Described," *San Jose Mercury Herald*, March 14, 1926, New Almaden Mines Papers, Collection M0270, Series IX, Box 116, Folder 8, SUL.

[62]Charles Sayler, "Ghost City on Almaden Hill 82 Years Old," *Los Gatos Mail News*, December 13, 1928, New Almaden Mines Papers, Collection M0270, Series IX, Box 116, Folder 8, SUL.

[63]Chesnutt, "Ruins Only in Hidden Almaden," *San Jose Evening News*, August 4, 1928.

[64]Roper, FLO, 406-7, 410-14; Rybczynski, *A Clearing in the Distance*, 368-71, 375; David C. Streatfield, 'The Evolution of the California Landscape II: Arcadia Compromised,' *Landscape Architecture*, 66 (March 1976), 126.

[65]Frederick Law Olmsted, "Preliminary Report in Regard to a Plan of Public Pleasure Grounds for the City of San Francisco" (1866), in *Civilizing American Cities*, 109-10, 117-18.

[66]Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco*, 83.

[67]Egan, *Lasso the Wind*, 101. For corroboration, see Mike Davis, "'Las Vegas Versus Nature," in *Reopening the American West*, ed. Hal K. Rothman (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998), 54-55.

[68]Many participants in this rush are in fact surging eastward to Las Vegas from the San Francisco and Los Angeles conurbations.

[69]Corps members mostly constructed fire roads and lookout towers. Their work is commemorated by a monument at the top of Mine Hill.

[70]Edgar H. Bailey and Donald L. Everhart, "Geology and Quicksilver Deposits of the New Almaden District, California," Division of Mines and Geology, State of California, 1964: 195, Collection SC-20, Box 1, Folder 2, MPHA.

[71]See Kevin Starr, "Sunset Magazine and the Phenomenon of the Far West," at **http://sunset-magazine.stanford.edu/ html/body_influences_1.html**, page 7 of 14 (accessed March 31, 2005).

[72]Rupert S. Arnold, "The Sensible Way to Water Western Lawns," *Sunset*, 68/4 (April 1932), 36-37; Raymond C. White, "Summer Care of Western Lawns," 69/1 (July 1932), 8; Mary Edith Griswold, "'Living Water': The Romance of the New Almaden Quicksilver Mines," 9/3 (July 1902), 173-80; "Quicksilver Town," 85/2 (August 1940), 44.

[73]For details, see Mark V. Bonito, "A Brief History of the Land of the USGS Menlo Campus," at **http://menlocampus.wr.usgs.gov/50years/ history** (accessed March 31, 2005). Though operations have been dramatically scaled back due through budget cuts since 1994, 600 people still work at the Menlo Park facility (since renamed the Menlo Science Center).

[74]The Casa Grande has become a recreational facility catering for corporate picnics, retreats and weddings. The New Almaden Quicksilver Mining Museum has been located within the mansion since 1998.

[75]For the "New West" phenomenon, see *Atlas of the New West: Portrait of a Changing Region*, ed. William Riebsame et al (W.W. Norton: New York/Center of the American West: Boulder, Co., 1997). This innovative and quirky atlas maps not only patterns of land ownership and the former and current habitat of wolves and buffalo but also things like the distribution of Land Rover dealerships and microbreweries.

[76]Donald Worster, *Under Western Skies: Nature and History in the American West:* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 236, 237, 246, 248.

[77]See **http://www.parkhere.org/prkpages/aq.htm**. For a photograph of one of these signs, see Dawson and Brechin, *Farewell, Promised Land*, 43.

A ROAD AS A ROUTE AND PLACE: THE EVOLUTION AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE ARROYO SECO PARKWAY, PP 28-40

A condensed version of the article appeared in *Access*, a journal of the University of California Transportation Center that highlights the center's funded projects. This study was partly supported by a grant from the University of California Transportation Center.

[1]John Cornell, "Riverbed Route, UN-Ltd.," *Westways*, January 1941, 13.

[2]William Leidenthal, "Historic Pasadena Freeway," *Los Angeles Times*, July 31, 1999, B-7.

[3]Clay McShane, *Down the Asphalt Path* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

[4]Adam Kringel, Mik Yanai Hernandez, and Rochelle Tortorete, "A Landscape Framework Plan for the Arroyo Seco Parkway Corridor." (Unpublished student project, Department of Landscape Architecture, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, 606 Studio Graduate Program, 2000).

[5]Timothy Davis, "A Pleasant Illusion of Unspoiled Countryside," in Alison Hoagland and Kenneth Breisch (eds.) *Constructing Image, Identity, and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 228-246.

[6]Norman T. Newton, *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 971).

[7]Olmstead, Vaux, Co., *Observations on the Progress of Improvements in Street Plans with pecial Reference to the Park-Way Proposed Be Laid Out in Brooklyn*, p. 18, quoted in IcShane, *Down the Asphalt Path*, 35.

[8]Frederick Law Olmsted, excerpts from "Buffalo: A Lakeshore Park and Pleasing Parkays," in *Civilizing American Cities* (Cambridge, IA: MIT Press, 1878, reprinted 1971, 147.

[9]The first cloverleaf interchange was conructed in New Jersey in 1928.

[10]Charles E. Beveridge and Carolyn F. Hofnan, (eds.) *The Papers of Frederick Law lmsted. Supplementary Series Volume 1, Vritings on Public Parks, Parkways, and Park ystems* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University ress, 1996), 166.

[11]David Brodsly, *LA Freeway: An ppreciative Essay* (Berkeley, CA: University California Press, 1981).

[12]Benton MacKaye, "The Townless Highway," e New Republic March 12, 1930.

[13]Paul Daniel Marriott, *Saving Historic ads: Design and Policy Guidelines.* (John ley & Sons, 1998).

[14]Kathleen Lafrank, "Real and Ideal Landapes Along the Taconic State Parkway," in son Hoagland and Kenneth Breisch (eds.) *nstructing Image, Identity, and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 247-262.

[15]Henstell, "Happy Birthday, Dear Freeway," *Los Angeles* (December 1985), 218-226.

[16]Greg Hise and William Deverell, *Eden by Design: The 1930 Olmsted-Bartholomew Plan for the Los Angeles Region* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

[17]Culbert L. Olson, "Traffic Death Toll Emphasizes Need for Arroyo Seco Parkway," in *The Arroyo Seco Parkway: The West's First Freeway*, Dedication Ceremonies, Dec. 30, 1940. [no publisher or place of publication listed]

[18]Newton, *Design on the Land*, 613.

[19]Los Angeles Parks Commission. "Arroyo Seco Parkway: A Brief Discussion of the Proposal and its Relation to a Boulevard from the Mountains to the Sea," 1913, 8.

[20]California Department of Parks and Recreation. *California Parkways: A Plan for a State Parkway System* (Sacramento, CA: Department of Parks and Recreation,1967, 6).

[21]Henstell, "Happy Birthday, Dear Freeway," 224.

[22]California Department of Parks and Recreation. *California Parkways*, 8

[23]S. V. Cortelyou, "Men, Steel and Concrete Work Miracles in the Arroyo Seco," in *The Arroyo Seco Parkway: The West's First Freeway*," Dedication Ceremonies, Dec. 30, 1940.

[24]The description of parkway design as "bioengineering" was offered by landscape architect Wilbur Simonson, who is quoted in Benjamin Forgey, "Parkway Design: A Lost Art?" *Landscape Architecture*, 1989, Vol. 79: 2, 47.

[25]Henstell, "Happy Birthday, Dear Freeway," 226.

[26]Patt Morrison, "50 Years of Moving History," Los Angeles Times, December 21, 1990. A-1

[27]Henstell, "Happy Birthday, Dear Freeway." 224.

[28]Dana W. Bartlett, *The Better City: A Sociological Study of a Modern City* (Los Angeles: Neuner Company Press, 1907), 32.

[29]Hise and Deverell, *Eden by Design*, 27.

[30]Los Angeles Park Commission, "Arroyo Seco Parkway: A Brief Discussion of the Proposed Arroyo Seco Parkway and its Relation to a Boulevard from the Mountains to the Sea," (Los Angeles, 1913, 3).

[31]Martin Wachs, "The Evolution of Transportation Policy in Los Angeles: Images of Past Policies and Future Prospects," in Allan J. Scott and Edward W. Soja (eds.) *The City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

[32]Hise and Deverell, *Eden by Design* p. 98 of the plan as reproduced in the Hise and Deverell book on p. 202.

[33]Henstell, "Happy Birthday, Dear Freeway," 224.

[34]This was proceeded by intensive lobbying from the part of the Automobile Club of Southern California in the late 1930s. The board of the Automobile Club also had recommended that the City of Los Angeles keep the shoulders of the parkway free from development, to take advantage of recent state legislation, which allowed municipalities to limit access to the use of new expressways and to the land abutting them. See Scott L. Bottles, *Los Angeles and the Automobile: The Making of the Modern City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 220.

[35]Brodsly, *LA Freeway*, 112.

[36]H. Marshall Goodwin, Jr., "The Arroyo Seco: From Dry Gulch to Freeway," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, May 1965, 73-95.

[37]R. D. Spencer, "Flood Control Channel Assures Protection of Parkway," in *The Arroyo Seco Parkway: The West's First Freeway*," Dedication Ceremonies, Dec. 30, 1940.

[38]E. E. East, "Motorist Saves Six Cents On Each Trip Over New Parkway," in *The Arroyo Seco Parkway: The West's First Freeway*," Dedication Ceremonies, Dec. 30, 1940. According to the author "This figure was not arrived at by guess work. The Engineering Department of the Automobile Club of Southern California has determined through actual study that intersection delays and congestion resulting from roadside encroachments are costing motor vehicle owners in the Los Angeles area an added one cent per vehicle mile of travel over and above the cost of operating on such facilities as the Arroyo Parkway" (no page number).

NOTES

[39]*Westways* article quoted in Cecilia Rasmussen, "Harrowing Drive on State's Oldest Freeway," *Los Angeles Times*, November 6, 2001. B-2

[40]Cortelyou, "Men, Steel and Concrete Work Miracles in the Arroyo Seco."

[41]R. E. Pierce, "Study Shows Accidents on Arroyo Seco Parkway are Less than on Some Los Angeles City Streets," *California Highway and Public Works* 23, no. 7-8, July-August 1945, . 1-3.

[42]Cortleyou, "Men, Steel and Concrete Work Miracles in the Arroyo Seco," unnumbered, but on p. 8 from the beginning of the work.

[43]Historical American Engineering Record, *Arroyo Seco Parkway*, No. CA-265, 1999, Washington DC: National Park Service.

[44]California Department of Parks and Recreation. *California Parkways*, 21.

[45]Michael Leccesse, "Roadways Recovered," *Landscape Architecture*, April 1989. 49- 55.

[46]Historical American Engineering Record (HAER), *Arroyo Seco Parkway*, No CA-265, 1999.

[47]Cortelyou, "Men, Steel and Concrete Work Miracles in the Arroyo Seco," unnumbered, but on p. 8 from the beginning of the work.

[48]Wachs, "The Evolution of Transportation Policy in Los Angeles," 117-118.

[49]Mark H. Rose, *Interstate: Express Highway Politics, 1941-1956* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1979).

[50]In some locations the difficult topographic conditions and the narrow right-of-way had forced parkway engineers to create what they referred to as "compressed cloverleaf," or "compressed ramp types." See S. V. Cortelyou, "Arroyo Seco 6-Lane Freeway," *California Highways and Public Works*, 17:6, June 1939, 10.

[51]Rasmussen, "Harrowing Drive," B-2.

[52]Forgey, "Parkway Design," 47-49.

[53]Marriott, *Saving Historic Roads*, 165.

[54]For a distinction between road as a route and road as a place see Jim McCluskey, *Road Form and Townscape*, 2nd edition (Boston: Butterworth-Architecture, 1992).

PICTURED LANDSCAPES OF THE SOUTH SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY, CALIFORNIA: LITHOGRAPHS OF THE 1880S AND 1890S, PP 41-58

[1]In particular see Wallace W. Elliott, *History of Tulare County, California, with Illustrations* (San Francisco, CA: Wallace W. Elliott and Co., 1883) and Wallace W. Elliott, *History of Kern County California, with Illustrations*. San Francisco, CA: Wallace W. Elliott and Co., 1883).

[2]Thomas H. Thompson, *Official Historical Atlas Map of Tulare County* (1892; reprint, Visalia, CA: Limited Editions of Visalia, 1973).

[3]During this period, many of the counties throughout California contracted for similar atlases and histories, which were often produced by the same firms and artists who had chronicled the South Valley. The similarities in format, style, and content are striking for all of the county atlases and histories, and in at least one instance the similarities extended beyond stylistic conformity to outright duplication. Wallace W. Elliott and Company simply replicated much of the narrative and many of the sketches from their history of Tulare County in their similar Kern County history. See Norman J. W. Thrower, "Cadastral Survey and County Atlases of the United States," *Journal of the British Cartographic Society* 9, 1 (1972), 47-48.

[4]This region represents the flatter portions of what currently comprises Tulare, Kings, and Kern counties. At the time, Tulare county included both modern day Tulare and Kings counties, and was more densely populated than the neighboring Kern county. Hence, the region may be viewed as representative of contemporary South Valley life.

[5]Before the arrival of the first American settlers, the valley habitats had been modified for thousands of years by the land use practices of the indigenous peoples. The native inhabitants, their life ways, and the humanized landscapes they created were probably disturbed by exotic diseases prior to the beginning of the Colonial period from 1769 to 1848. After 1769 foreign peoples along with exotic organisms and diseases accelerated the destruction of the Yokuts and their landscape imprints. (See Kat Anderson and Thomas C. Blackburn, editors, *Before the Wilderness: Environmental Management by Native Californians*. Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press: 1993; William L. Preston, "Serpent in the Garden: Enviro mental Change in Colonial California" *Ca fornia History*, 76, 2 and 3 (1997), 260-98 William L. Preston, "Portents of Plague From California's Protohistoric," *Ethnohistor* 49, 4 (2001), 67-121.

[6]Richard J. Orsi, "The Octopus Reconsidere The Southern Pacific and Agricultural Modernization in California, 1865 – 1915," *California Historical Quarterly*, 54, 3 (1975) 197-220.

[7]Wheat and barley had been cultivated in the South Valley prior to the railroad's arrival and shipped by wagon primarily to th north. The advent of rail transportation stimulated a rapid increase in the acreage devoted to the cultivation of these grains (William L. Preston, *Vanishing Landscapes Land and Life in the Tulare Lake Basin*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 95. Hereafter referred to as VL. Despite these changes, the South Valley remained the last bastion of the stockmen in the Central Valley, and farmers there remained handicapped for a time by the necessity of fencing out ranging livestock with expensive barriers. Finally, the passag of the "No Fence" law in 1874 shifted the burden of fencing to the rancher, and the near simultaneous invention of barbed wire insured a growing niche for farmers.

[8]Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream 1850 – 1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 172.

[9]Atlas representatives often appealed to the vanity of the farmer in order to sell subscrip tions rather than to his wife who was less likely to be tempted by such a luxury. Thus even the less well-to-do patrons had the opportunity to be immortalized alongside thei more affluent neighbors. See Michael P. Conzen, *Chicago Mapmakers: Essays on the Rise of the City's Map Trade* (Chicago, Chicago Historical Society, 1984), 50 and 52.

[10]See Ron Tyler, *Prints of the West* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 1994).

[11]Thompson, "Preface."

[12]One of Thompson's stylistic innovations was to give many farmers an orchard in the illustration of their property. This feature had such a popular appeal that other chroniclers adapted it, especially if they had pre-

viously worked for the Thompson firm. See Michael P. Conzen, "The All-American County Atlas: Styles of Commercial Landownership Mapping and American Culture," *Images of the World: The Atlas Through History*, ed. John A. Wolter and Ronald E. Grim (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 997), 345; hereafter referred to as "All-American."

[3]Norman J. W. Thrower, "The County Atlas of the United States," *Surveying and Mapping*, ol. 21 (Washington D. C., Library of Congress, 1961), 369.

[4]While many of the subscribers were relatively affluent compared to the general population in the valley, the western county tlases tended to represent a more demoratic perspective of their subject matter than heir eastern cousins. Overall, the lithoraphic views in the atlases of the Midwest nd California displayed simpler, rural scenes ather than the established mansions and states more commonly found in the better stablished East (Conzen, "All-American," 45).

[5]See Bret Wallach, "Geographic Record: ainting, Art History, and Geography," *The eographical Review* 87, 1 (1997), 92-99; teven Hoelscher, "The Photographic Conruction of Tourist Space in Victorian merica," *The Geographic Review* 88, 4 998), 548-570.

[6]Samuel Bowles, *Our New West: Records of avel Between the Mississippi River and the acific Ocean* (Hartford, CT: Hartford Pubhing Co., 1869), 444; Charles Nordhoff, *alifornia for Health, Pleasure, and Residence: Book for Travelers and Settlers* (New York: arper and Brothers, 1872), 200.

[7]See John Maass, *The Gingerbread Age: A ew of Victorian America* (New York: Rinert and Co., 1957).

[8]Stewart E. White, *Old California: In cture and Story* (New York: Garden City blishers Co., 1937), 79.

[9]See John W. Reps, *Views and Viewmakers Urban America: Lithographs of Towns and ies in the United States and Canada, Notes the Artists and Publishers, and Union talog of Their Work*, 1825-1925 (Columbia: iversity of Missouri Press, 1984).

[20]Walter W. Ristow, *American Maps and Mapmakers: Commercial Cartography in the Nineteenth Century* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1985), 424.

[21]Women increased proportionately in the South Valley from thirty percent of the non-Indian and non-Asian population in 1860, to thirty-nine percent by 1880, and to forty-one percent in 1900. U.S. DC: Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census* (Washington, D C: Government Printing Office, 1864), 22-23; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Tenth Census* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1883); U.S. Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), 495.

[22]Douglas C. Sackman, "Putting Gender on the Table: Food and the Family Life of Nature," *Seeing Nature Through Gender*, ed. Virginia J. Scharff (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 169-93. See also Miroslava Chávez-Garcia, *Negotiating Conquest: Gender and Power in California, 1770s to 1880s* (Tuscon, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2004).

[23]Nordhoff, 228.

[24]Titus Fey Cronise, *The Natural Wealth of California* (San Francisco, CA: H. H. Bancroft. 1868), 385.

[25]Between 1860 and 1895, for instance, the reported value of orchard products in the South Valley increased approximately fourteen-fold, *Eighth Census*, 12; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eleventh Census* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1895), 502. During this period of increasingly diversified farming, grain acreage actually expanded more rapidly. For example, grain production, particularly wheat and barley, rose approximately twenty-fold in the South Valley between 1870 and 1890. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Ninth Census* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1874), 717; *Eleventh Census*, 358. In terms of spatial coverage in this region, grain reached a zenith in 1884 when more than ninety percent of the agricultural acreage was planted to wheat and barley. Osgood Hardy, "Agricultural Changes in California, 1860-1900," *American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch, Proceedings*. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.1929), 221-22.

[26]May Merril Miller, *First the Blade* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1938), 623.

[27]Thompson, 19.

[28]John Muir, "Letter from Grangeville," *Los Tulares: Quarterly Bulletin of the Tulare County Historical Society* 88 (1874; reprint, Visalia, Calif.: Tulare County Historical Society, 1971).

[29]Botsford and Hammond, *Tulare County California; a truthful description of its climate, soil, towns, and vast agricultural and other resources* (Visalia, CA: Sacramento. 1885), 49.

[30]William Preston, "Serpent in the Garden: Environmental Change in Colonial California," *Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush*, ed. Rámon A. Gutiérrez and Richard J. Orsi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 260-98.

[31]Harold Kirker, "California Architecture and Its Relation to Contemporary Trends in Europe and America," *California Historical Quarterly* 41, 4 (1972), 289-305.

[32]Immigration Association of California, *Resources of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, California: Fresno, Tulare, and Kern Counties, Topography, Soil, Climate, Productions, Railroads, and General Advantages* (San Francisco, CA: Immigration Association of California, 1886), 59-60.

[33]Leon S. Pitman, "The Domestic Tankhouse as Vernacular Architecture in Rural California," *Material Culture* 24, 1 (1992), 13-32.

[34]See Preston, VL, 141-42.

[35]Mary Cone, *Two Years in California* (Chicago: S. C. Griggs and Co. 1876), 173.

[36]Henry George, "What the Railroad Will Bring Us," *Overland Monthly* 1, 10 (1868), 303.

[37]Immigration Association, 60.

[38]Thompson, 9.

[39]Thompson and Warren, *Business Directory and Historical and Descriptive Hand-Book of Tulare County, California* (Tulare, CA: Pillsbury and Ellsworth. 1888), 66.

[40]Thompson, 10.

[41]Norris, 30.

[42]Richard Steven Street, "Tattered Shirts and Ragged Pants: Accommodation, Protest, and the Coarse Culture of California Wheat Harvesters and Threshers, 1866-1900," *Pacific Historical Review* 67, 4 (1998), 573-608.

NOTES

[43]For comprehensive descriptions and illustrations of the conditions, treatment, and perceptions of California farm laborers see Richard Steven Street, *Beasts of the Field: A Narrative History of California Farmworkers, 1769 – 1913* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004) and Richard Steven Street, *Photographing Farmworkers in California* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004).

[44]For example, the Chinese presence in the South Valley was well established by the 1880s, and increased in proportion to the Euroamerican population. In 1860 the Chinese comprised just three-tenths of one percent of this population. By 1870 they amounted to three percent and had grown to seven percent by 1890. However, due in part to forced exportations in the mid 1890s the proportion dropped to four percent by 1900. *Eighth Census*, 22-23; *Ninth Census*, 29; *Eleventh Census*, 404 and 437; *Twelfth Census*, 738.

[45]Nordhoff, 111-12; Sucheng Chan, *The Bitter-Sweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 223.

[46]Don Mitchell, *The Lie of the Land: Migrant Workers and the California Landscape* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

[47]Nordhoff, 168; also see Thompson and Warren, 115-16.

[48]Norris, 502.

[49]Peirce Lewis, "The Monument and the Bungalow," *The Geographical Review* 88, 4 (1998), 507-527.

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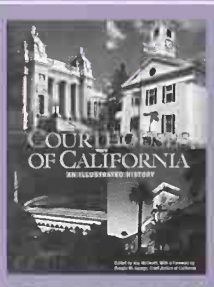

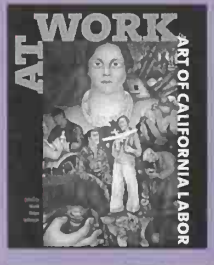

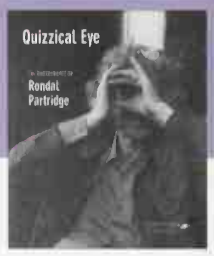

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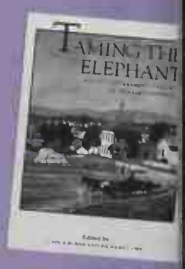

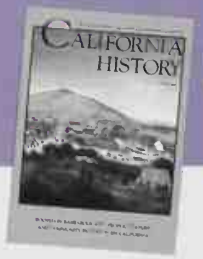

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REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

POPULAR CULTURE IN THE AGE OF WHITE FLIGHT: FEAR AND FANTASY IN SUBURBAN LOS ANGELES

by Eric Avila (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004, 328 pp., $39.95 cloth)

THE NEXT LOS ANGELES: THE STRUGGLE FOR A LIVABLE CITY

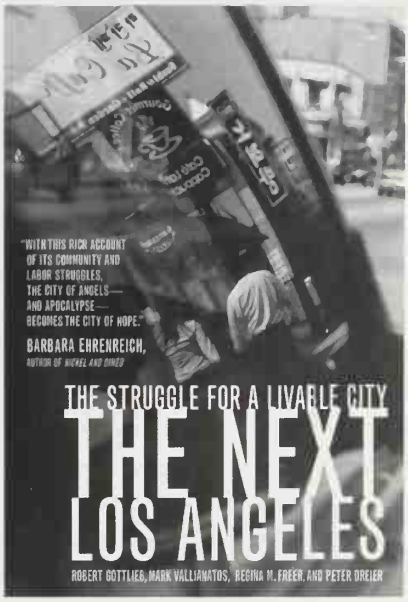
by Robert Gottlieb, Mark Vallianatos, Regina M. Freer, and Peter Dreier (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005, 289 pp., $55 cloth, $21.95 paper)

REVIEWED BY MARK WILD, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY LOS ANGELES

Amid the recent flood of studies on Los Angeles some scholars continue to protest that important aspects of the city's history remain neglected. These two books address some of the gaps frequently cited in these complaints. *The Next Los Angeles* is in essence a compendium of what its authors call "Progressive L.A.," the countermovement to the "nightmare" of oppression and domination that courses through many popular and scholarly narratives of Los Angeles. Contrary to the doom-and-gloom portrayals, they claim, the city nurtures a vigorous oppositional politics that has challenged, often quite effectively, the discrimination of entrenched power structures. Part I surveys this activism of the past century, but this is not first and foremost a work of history. Readers hoping for an extended analysis or comprehensive account of events, organizations, or individuals active prior to the 1990s will be disappointed. Aside from a chapter devoted African American community leader Charlotta Bass, the study focuses on the recent past with an eye toward, as the title suggests, the future.

Traversing a broad landscape of issues, coalitions, and campaigns, *The Next Los Angeles* is the most complete single source I know of for the leftist and center-leftist politics of the past fifteen years. Almost everything that falls under the broad designation of local progressivism receives at least passing mention here. The book, which concludes with a policy agenda for future activism, celebrates its subjects for envisioning a "city of possibility, which long-term residents and newcomers alike can reshape with a common vision of justice, democracy, and livability" (196).

For all their excavating of late twentieth-century progressivism, however, the authors spend much less time explaining why movements that appeal to so many Angelenos remain marginalized in city politics. For part of that answer we can turn to Eric Avila's *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight*, a study of the spatial and cultural rift that opened up between the suburb and inner city in the decades following World War II. Avila argues that the urban restructuring of this period, both on the ground and in the minds of its residents, attempted to capture and isolate "white spots" from an increasingly visible non-white population. From the subtle racial codings of film noir to the secure elevated corridors of the iconographic freeway (evocatively conceptualized as "sutures" that hold the city together even as they demarcate divisions within it), civic and business leaders segregated populations by race and



class. Within Avila's analysis one can see, almost literally, the separation of those people "Progressive L.A." most champions from the city's reservoir of political and cultural capital.

One of *Popular Culture's* many strengths is its situation of Los Angeles within a national context. As they had in earlier eras, city officials and business interests posited their city as a solution to the industrial, environmental, and racial malignancies of other metropolises. Avila even dares to begin his narrative in New York, a city that serves in his account as a foil for Los Angeles, the urban mistake that elite Angelenos sought to correct. Thus Disneyland becomes the response to a seedy Coney Island, Dodger Stadium the response to a decrepit Ebbets Field. This vision of a white, middle-class, not-quite-urban oasis is the cultural shibboleth against which *The Next Los Angeles's* protagonists struggle. In detailing the history of its deployment Avila shows why this vision remains so entrenched in policy and culture even as it fails in practice.

Both of these studies do more than simply fill in gaps in the historiography. They also counter a tendency among some scholars who, in investigating the relationship between space and culture, see Los Angeles as the exemplification of postmodernity, a de-centered, multi-variegated, ever-mutating organism. At times, such attempts to encompass the bewildering economic, cultural, and racial diversity of the modern metropolis slip into mystification—changes in the city seem to occur of their own accord, divorced from the forces that generate them. *The Next Los Angeles*, in its prescriptions for a progressive local politics, and *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight*, in its analysis of postwar culture and redevelopment, help to render the structures of power in Los Angeles more comprehensible without erasing complexity. Historians exploring modern urbanization in any part of the country should find both works valuable sources of information and, for Avila's in particular, models of method.

FUGITIVE SLAVE IN THE GOLD RUSH: LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF JAMES WILLIAMS

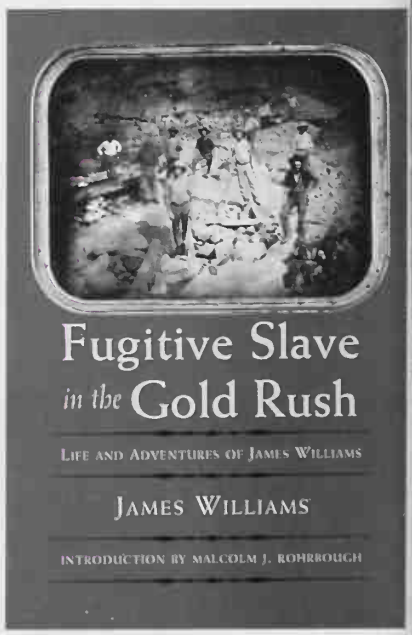
By James Williams, edited by Malcolm J. Rohrbough. (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 2003, 119 pp., $16.95, paper.)

REVIEWED BY RUDOLPH M. LAPP, AUTHOR OF *BLACKS IN GOLD RUSH CALIFORNIA* (1977), *AFRO-AMERICANS IN CALIFORNIA* (1987), AND *ARCHY LEE* (1969).

James Williams, a slave at age thirteen, ran away to Pennsylvania from slavery in Maryland. The description of his trek, written when he was forty-eight, reads like a casual stroll compared to other escape narratives. The account is intriguing, but the editor warns us that this publishing venture was commercial. This tells the reader that sensationalism might be better served in the narrative than the needs of accurate history.

Williams was twenty-six when he arrived in San Francisco. He had lived as a free person for thirtee years and was hardly a "fugitive slave He did go to the mines as they entere the first stages of placer mining decline. In this matter Professo Rohrbough, the editor of the volum shows his expertise in the history o Gold Rush era mining, expertise no evident in the history of blacks in th Gold Rush, however. The reader learn little about the mainstream of that history. Williams, for example, travel to locations called "Negro Hills" and "Kelsey's Digs." These places have in teresting connections to black mining history and one wishes that both the editor and Williams had said more about them.

Williams represents himself as a ma of courage in racial matters—for example, he mentions lawyer James Zabriskie, who helped him gain free dom for a black woman in Sacra-



ıento. Nonetheless, a repeated ıeme in this work is Williams' bit-ˈrness at his treatment from fellow lacks and how superior whites are › blacks in ethical matters. He used is book to settle scores but also knew ıat this theme could encourage ıles of his book among whites.

/illiams was, for instance, a fund-ıiser for black churches, but then got ı trouble with them over money ıatters. In one case, he went to jail ı subsequent litigation. In 1857 /illiams was in Sacramento when ıe famous Archy Lee fugitive slave ıse took place. Lee, brought to Cali-›rnia by his master, won his freedom. /illiams describes himself, again ˈithout details, as "the first man in ıe fray." Despite the ruling, a group f African Americans left California ı 1858 for Victoria, British Columbia, /illiams among them. He returned › California quickly, however, saying ˈithout explanation that he found the r "tainted." Other African Americans ad a very positive experience. What ˈinted the air for Williams?

/illiams's autobiography segues ffortlessly into dissertations on reli-ion and, at times, race. One senses ıat he has something to say on every ˈsue that may gain readers for him, ıd quite a few pages of the book are ‹tracts from other sources. While ıis makes for exciting reading, it isappoints us in its meager coverage f African Americans in California uring the mid-nineteenth century.

THE GOVERNOR: THE LIFE AND LEGACY OF LELAND STANFORD

By Norman E. Tutorow (Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2004, 2 Vols., 1,146 pp., $125, cloth)

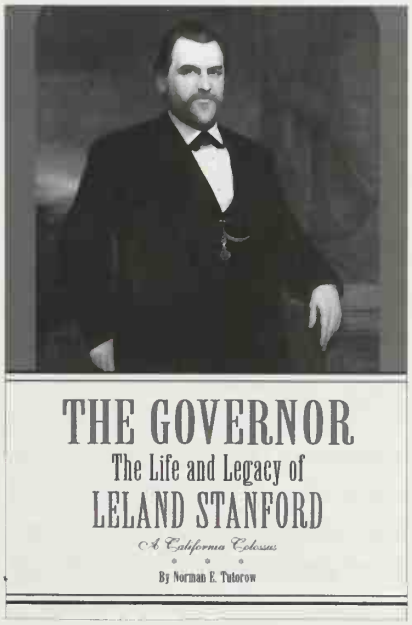
REVIEWED BY ANDREW ROLLE, RESEARCH SCHOLAR, THE HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY AND AUTHOR OF *CALIFORNIA: A HISTORY* (2003)

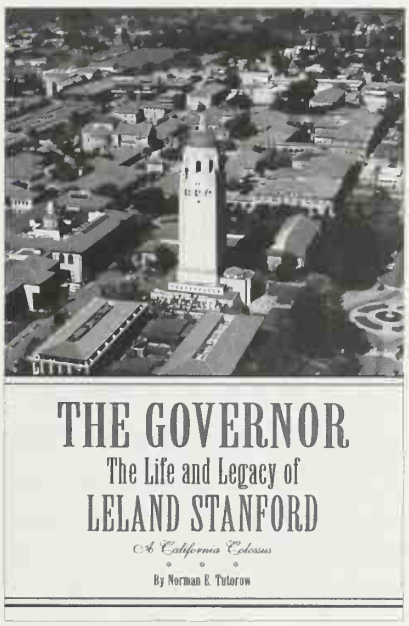
Following his days as a young lawyer, Stanford's subsequent financial and political success came from his participation, as a member of the "Big Four," in forming the Central Pacific and Southern Pacific railroad companies. Through complex finagling, they were able to buy up connecting lines, thereby completing a new route to New Orleans. This gave Stanford and his partners control of the shortest transcontinental rail connection. A few maps, rather than so much description, would have made such complications clearer.

As the firm's long-time president, Stanford also planned other routes. Although he faced increasing state and federal railroad regulation, his governorship of California had given him great prestige. But, in 1884, Stanford suffered the tragic death, by typhoid, of his sixteen-year-old son for whom he endowed Stanford University. He also devoted years as a regent of the University of California and was a U.S. senator for two terms.

From Chapter 24 onward the author introduces a wealth of detail about Stanford's social and commercial life. Other than railroading, he was involved in farming, animal husbandry, viticulture, as well as the funding of motion pictures, steamships, and cable cars. He also traveled to Europe, collected art, and practiced philanthropy.

Although Stanford was not as shrewd as his partner, the wily Collis Huntington, both men created significant





fortunes that later contributed to the public good. (Incidentally, Collis's nephew Henry, who attended Stanford's funeral, added to his uncle's inheritance and funded his famous library, art gallery, and botanical garden.) Collis had a spirited and ongoing rivalry with Stanford. Huntington openly accused his more popular partner of neglecting their railroad empire in favor of personal political aspirations. Thus, their relations remained prickly.

More than a century after his death, there is no doubt that Stanford deserves a first-rate biography. Tutorow knows more about Stanford than any other living scholar. Yet, portions of this book verge on antiquarianism. Also, it is more a protective advocacy of Stanford's legacy than a critical analysis.

Although Tutorow's research is meticulous, one is also struck by the extreme length of his first two volumes. Our British colleagues have always been critical of American biographers who seem incapable of "slimming down" their writing. One thinks of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Theodore Sorenson's books on John F. Kennedy and Robert Caro's three-volume biography of Lyndon Johnson. Surely some of Tutorow's research notes could have been condensed.

Despite the author's fulsome process, his admirable dedication to his subject shines through both of the Stanford volumes.

MY CHECKERED LIFE: LUZENA STANLEY WILSON IN EARLY CALIFORNIA

By Fern Henry (Nevada City, CA: Carl Mautz Publishing, 2003, 240 pp., $35 cloth, $22.50 paper)

UNSETTLING THE WEST: ELIZA FARNHAM AND GEORGIANA BRUCE KIRBY IN FRONTIER CALIFORNIA

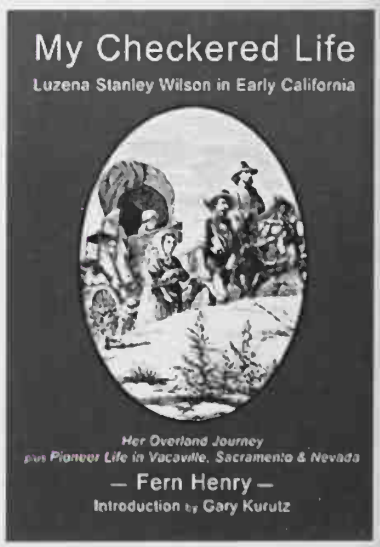
By JoAnn Levy (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2004, 364 pp., $24.95 cloth, $16.95 paper).

REVIEWED BY MARLENE SMITH-BARANZINI, FORMER ASSOCIATE EDITOR OF *CALIFORNIA HISTORY* AND EDITOR OF *THE SHIRLEY LETTERS FROM THE CALIFORNIA MINES, 1851-1852*

A century ago, the names Eliza Farnham, Georgiana Kirby, and Luzena Wilson were still familiar to scores of Californians. The three women arrived just before California gained statehood, and in their own ways each left a substantial imprint on—or beyond—the communities where they lived. Now, with the publication of *My Checkered Life* and *Unsettling the West*, their lives (and their writings) are refreshingly before us again, inviting another look at the varieties of experience among notable California women.

My Checkered Life opens with Luzena Stanley Wilson's recollection of traveling overland to California in 1849. Her tale holds stark vignettes of soggy weeks in Sacramento and Nevada City before she and her husband became property-holders in the Vac Valley, thirty-five miles southwest o Sacramento. What became Vacaville was then tottering on the cusp of political and social transformation, transitioning from Mexican to Amer can California, and Luzena's sketche capture the period. She and her hus band opened the town's first hotel, established a school to educate a growing flock of pioneer children planted grains, and became prosper ous. Her account, written in 1881, centers primarily on life in the 1850 and speedily concludes with 1878.

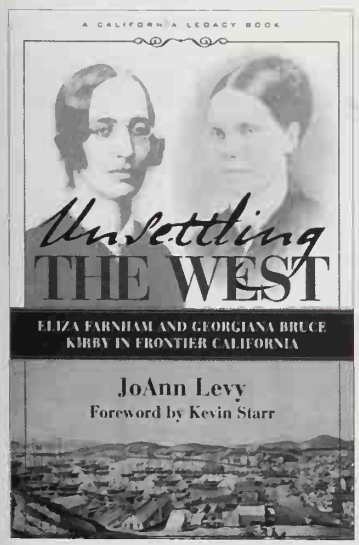
Luzena professed to have "dictated" this work to her adult daughter, Cor renah, a Mills College alumna and San Francisco club woman—who at the very least probably spit-polished it. Regardless of how the collaboratio worked, the mother-daughter duo made a great team, creating a vivid, richly detailed, and at times grippin



ersonal story that puts the emigrant adventure" into focus.

uzena's memoir, published in 1937 s *Luzena Stanley Wilson, 49er*, forms ne core of *My Checkered Life* by acaville resident and historian Fern lenry. Interspersed between Luzena's en slim chapters are Henry's esearch and her adroit perspective, killfully providing components that rn a valuable but specialized ac- ount into a work of greater regional nd historical significance. Henry nlarges Luzena's account by using ther primary and secondary sources at broaden family genealogy, profile ther community figures, and chart nportant aspects of city and state istory. In a sense, the reader is led ehind the scenes to view a larger ndscape. The result is a multi-lay- ed and very readable tale.

1 1849, while Luzena Wilson was tting down roots in Vacaville, Eliza rnham was stirring things up in Santa Cruz. With hammer in hand, modeling her "Turkish pants" ensemble, the unstoppable reformer built a house on land her late husband, Thomas J. Farnham, had purchased. Within the year, she and her friend Georgiana Bruce (later Kirby) were reunited in the coastal town, after having worked together at Sing Sing prison where Farnham supervised the female inmates.



In *Unsettling the West*, award-winning author JoAnn Levy chooses the theme of relationship—friendship—to unify her dual biography of Farnham and Kirby. Drawn together by their intellectual natures, both women were abolitionists, Spiritualists, and phrenologists. They felt isolated on the picturesque California coast. Kirby, a teacher and member of the noted utopian community Brook Farm, married and immersed herself in motherhood. In the 1870s, when the woman's suffrage campaign stirred in California, she threw her energies into it. As it languished under public apathy, however, Kirby turned to other causes. Outliving Farnham by twenty-three years, before her death in 1887 she published her theory on the power of motherhood, a novella, and a partial biography.

The widow Farnham, meanwhile, made a poor remarriage, and bore the loss of two of her three children. To support herself, she turned to writing and public lecturing wherever she could gather an audience. Her views (including the *superiority* of women over men) were both praised and mocked, but few denied her persuasive powers as a writer and a speaker. In the 1860s, in failing health, she revised an autobiographical novel and also published the work she considered her most important, *Woman and Her Era*. She died in upstate New York in 1864.

Though their friendship, shared philosophical convictions, and activism in an era of reform provide the book's biographical theme, Farnham and Kirby's lives often took different turns and their years in Santa Cruz overlapped just briefly, creating a challenging chronology as Levy moves one woman's story forward and plays catch-up with the other. The book's non-standard endnote format thwarts easy access to the sources. Nonetheless, as she did with her trail-blazing work *They Saw the Elephant*, Levy has further illuminated women's experiences in nineteenth-century America, and delivered a compelling tribute to two dynamic and consequential crusaders.

LA NUEVA CALIFORNIA: LATINOS IN THE GOLDEN STATE

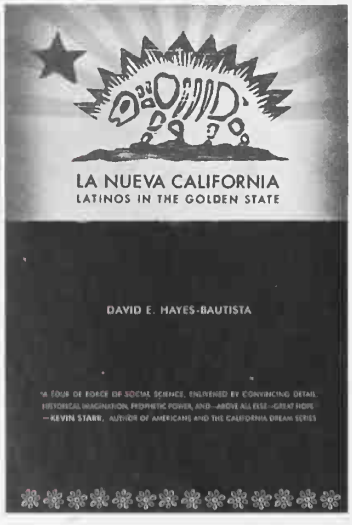
By David E. Hayes-Bautista (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004, 263 pp., $55 cloth, $21.95 paper)

REVIEWED BY GILBERT G. GONZALEZ, PROFESSOR OF CHICANO LATINO STUDIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE

La Nueva California provides a window for observing Latino opinions, experiences, lifestyles, and successes in a society dominated by a puritanical "Atlantic American" outlook opposed to diversity. Hayes-Bautista

asserts that a Quaker "Atlantic American" perspective embraces diversity and places his hopes for the future of Latinos within that framework. The work confronts conventional stereotypical images of Latinos in California (but not elsewhere) with data that conveys distinct interpretations. Wide-ranging issues—from education to birth rates to an evolving Latino identity—are covered, but the book is largely concerned with the dynamic population of California in which Latinos will provide one-half the state's population by the year 2040.

In Hayes-Bautista's opinion, as the ethnic character of the population develops, the state has two paths to follow: It either promotes the best of the "culturally dynamic" reality that will "make California the gateway to the surging economies of Mexico and Latin America" (the Quaker perspective), or a "worst case scenario" materializes in which "ethnic groups are at war with one another" (the Puritanical perspective) (12). Hayes-Bautista argues that despite extensive poverty, which affects immigrants disproportionately, Latinos are doing quite well. Latinos enjoy the qualities for success: a solid work ethic, above-average health, low mortality rates, strong family values, and more. Although they fall behind in educational attainment, a strong desire for education exists but is thwarted by public policies such as raising university admissions requirements. Access to educational opportunities for Latinos ultimately determines which state scenario triumphs.



According to Hayes-Bautista, Mexican immigration is a good thing. Immigrants are realizing their dreams; the second generation identifies as Americans while preserving their cultural heritage and given enough time most enter the middle class. In general, the book deals with Latinos after they've crossed the border; the causes of Mexican immigration are generally dismissed and the Bush guest-worker proposal is not mentioned. But why has there been more than a century of Mexican migration? We must examine U.S. domination over the Mexican economy, and the latest example is found in the North American Free Trade Agreement (which Hayes-Bautista ignores).

NAFTA lowered import barriers to U.S. agricultural products, which has torn the Mexican economy apart. Across Mexico, farmers and ranchers cannot compete with cheaper, subsidized American products; they go bankrupt and leave the countryside. Villages are deserted; displaced peoples migrate, either to a border maquiladora (maquiladora employment doubled under NAFTA) or to the United States as cheap labor.

The "best-case scenario" wished for by Hayes-Bautista will not contribute to "surging economies of Mexico and Latin America" given that NAFTA has been an economic nightmare for Mexico. If the proposed Free Trade for the Americas Agreement modeled after NAFTA is enacted, continental migration will increase enormously, swelling the Latino immigrant population. Unfortunately, Hayes-Bautista disregards "free trade" and Mexican migration, which should be at the forefront of any discussion of Latino and public policy.

WHAT'S GOING ON? CALIFORNIA AND THE VIETNAM ERA

Edited by Marcia A. Eymann and Charles Wollenberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004, 209 pp., $49.95 cloth, $29.95 paper)

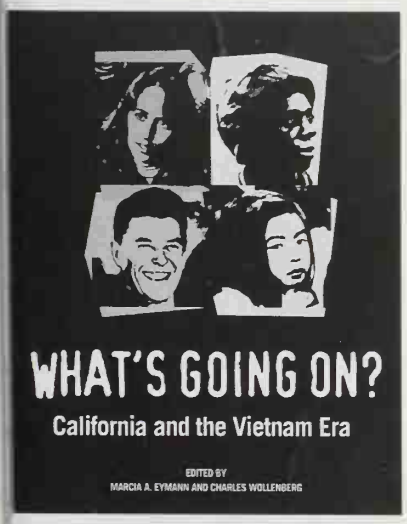
REVIEW BY KENNETH J. HEINEMAN, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, OHIO UNIVERSITY

Envisioned as a companion piece to an exhibition mounted by the Oakland Museum of California, *What's Going On? California and the Vietnam Era*, is an engaging and informative work. Supplemented with 127 black-and-white photographs, this volume depicts the political and cultural diversity of post-World War II California. Many of the photographs are so intriguing that one wishes it were possible to tour the exhibition in person. For

eaders conversant with the challenges f creating a catalogue that brings oth excitement and knowledge to ne printed page, *What's Going On* is remarkable achievement. Curators nd academics are not always the best f partners, but in this case the collaboration worked well.

s with any essay collection, there are few chapters that should have been iven to more capable contributors. Iowever, the outstanding essays are reater in number and it is worthhile to draw readers' attention to at ast some of these contributions.

or Americans living far from the acific Rim—including this reviewer -Andrew Lam's and Khuyen Vu guyen's discussions of the ethnic ietnamese communities in California ere engaging and humbling. Some ree million Vietnamese fled their omes following the communist vicry in 1975. (Two million Cambodians erished in the Khmer Rouge's killing elds.) California became a magnet r a large proportion of Indochinese refugees. Their story is one of hardship, sometimes fitful assimilation, and, ultimately, triumph. These two essays, and the photographs that accompany them, underscore the enormous contributions immigrants and their progeny have made in renewing America economically and spiritually since the 1960s.



While 250,000 Vietnamese died in the service of the armed forces of South Vietnam, 260,000 Californians fought alongside them, with 5,800 making the ultimate sacrifice. Vietnam veteran John Burns, in a compelling, data-driven essay, tells his own story in the context of Californians' experiences with the Indochinese war.

Seeking to counter a number of myths about Vietnam veterans, Burns emphasizes that the Californians who served in Vietnam were no richer or poorer than their neighbors and came home as well adjusted as their World War II veteran fathers. For all that, Burns does not sugarcoat the terrors of combat and the rigors of basic training. In one attention-grabbing passage, Burns quotes a southern drill instructor who delighted in verbally abusing California beach boys: "The only things that come out of California are queers and hot rods, and I don't see no tail pipes comin' out of your ass" (149).

Readers should also direct their attention to historian Marc Jason Gilbert's essay on the significance of military contracting and research to California's economy and Cold War culture. As Gilbert notes, the aviation revolution of the 1940s, and the fact that a major portion of World War II was fought in the Pacific, placed California's industries and universities in the forefront of military procurement. The road to the nuclear age may have begun on the East Coast at Princeton and Columbia, but it ended at Berkeley and Stanford. With the advent of the Cold War, the term "Silicon Valley" entered global parlance.

All in all, this is a highly recommended volume.

SELLING THE CITY: GENDER, CLASS, AND THE CALIFORNIA GROWTH MACHINE 1880–1940

By Lee M.A. Simpson (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2004, 215 pp., $49.50)

REVIEWED BY GRAY BRECHIN, AUTHOR OF *IMPERIAL SAN FRANCISCO: URBAN POWER, EARTHLY RUIN* AND (WITH ROBERT DAWSON) *FAREWELL, PROMISED LAND: WAKING FROM THE CALIFORNIA DREAM*

So influential in the multidisciplinary field of urban studies was the 1978 publication of John R. Logan and Harvey L. Molotch's *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place* that it generated its own retrospective conference, published as *The Urban Growth Machine: Critical Perspectives, Two Decades Later* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1999). By interjecting gender as well as class, Professor Lee Simpson's engrossing study of the historic role women have played in shaping California cities adds further richness to the original thesis, which she summarizes as "a coalition of land-based

urban elites who manipulate local government to pursue policies that protect and enhance the wealth of growth machine members." Molotch and Logan maintained that ownership of the local media serves to manipulate less fortunate members of the community into supporting the elite's auto-aggrandizing goal of perennial expansion largely at public expense. Simpson's extensive research demonstrates how California's traditionally liberal common property law—as well as individual entrepreneurship—made land-owning women active, influential, and willing cogs in the growth machinery.

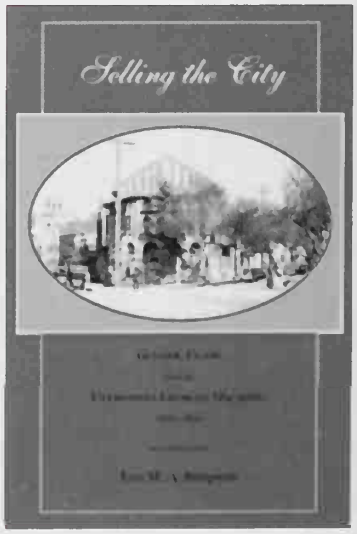
Feminist historians on the left should not be surprised or dismayed to learn that property ownership and race easily trumps sisterhood. Civic amenities such as street trees, public parks and libraries—not to mention what California has of enlightened town planning—can often be traced back to women's clubs whose members well understood their value in keeping up property values and attracting "the right kind of people" to their towns. As Simpson too unconditionally observes, women's clubs founded as literary and social clubs had, by 1910, "shifted their focus to civic issues," encouraged to do so by statewide federations.

In addition to contributing to the neglected aspect of gender in the growth machine thesis, Simpson uses for examples California's scanted second- and third-tier cities, chiefly Redlands, Oakland, and Santa Barbara. She thus leaves for further study those women who worked the Comstock Lodes of urban land values—Los Angeles and San Francisco, as well as *rancheras* such as Joan Irvine.

In her final chapter, for example, Simpson reveals the critical role played by Pearl Chase, daughter and partner of Santa Barbara's leading realtor, in the creation of California's most attractive city. Chase's vision and quiet persuasion—she was chair of the city's Plans and Planting Committee between 1925 and 1971—made the town one of California's few to realize a comprehensive plan, doubtlessly increasing her family's cumulative wealth but permanently contributing much to the qualitative experience of Santa Barbarans and visitors alike.

A more formidable woman may well have stood behind Ms. Chase: Simpson notes that while a student at Berkeley between 1905 and 1909, Chase was imbued with a drive for civic improvement when she witnessed the destruction and reckless rebuilding of San Francisco, At the same time, Chase had a ringside seat on architect John Galen Howard's efforts to implement the Phoebe Apperson Hearst International Competition, which had the stated goal of transforming the campus into an "ideal city of learning." Pearl Chase "thus observed a woman working to realize a vision and a comprehensive architectural plan for a community." Apparently unknown to Simpson, Hearst's concern for civic improvement transcended her own plan for a university campus.

When the jurors of her competitio arrived in San Francisco in 1898, Mayor Phelan announced at a Boh mian Club dinner that Mrs. Hearst intended to sponsor another intern tional competition "for plans by whic the City of San Francisco may be la out, altered, and improved on artist and scientific lines as Napoleon through Baron Hasussmann laid o Paris." Though Hearst inexplicably abandoned her sponsorship, she pr vided the impetus for the equally grandiose Burnham Plan of 1905 fo which historians give Phelan credit. In accord with Simpson's thesis, th widow Hearst would have benefited mightily from such a plan for she ha inherited a vast real estate portfolio from Senator Hearst, and shrewdl managed her own multitudinous business affairs. Her self-interested enlightenment would not have been lost on the heiress from Santa Barbara In the many public amenities those women and others left us, we are now the unwitting heirs.



THE OVERLAND JOURNEY FROM UTAH TO CALIFORNIA: WAGON TRAVEL FROM THE CITY OF SAINTS TO THE CITY OF ANGELS

By Edward Leo Lyman (Reno: University of Nevada, 2004, 288 pp., $39.95 cloth)

REVIEWED BY THOMAS FREDERICK HOWARD, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF GEOGRAPHY, ARMSTRONG ATLANTIC STATE UNIVERSITY, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

Among western wagon trails and roads, the Southern Route between Salt Lake City and Los Angeles is less widely known than the more celebrated Oregon, California, and Santa Fe trails. Edward Leo Lyman set out to remedy the deficit of scholarly attention to the Southern Route and has done so massively in this large-format, double-column volume.

The book is laid out in ten chapters. The first describes the geography of the trail as it appeared to travelers in the 1850s. The book's three maps occur here, showing the Southern route, with cutoffs and improvements, from Salt Lake City through Utah to St. George, then across southeast Nevada to Las Vegas and into California south of Death Valley, and finally across the desert to Barstow, up the Mojave River to Cajon Pass, San Bernardino and on to Los Angeles.

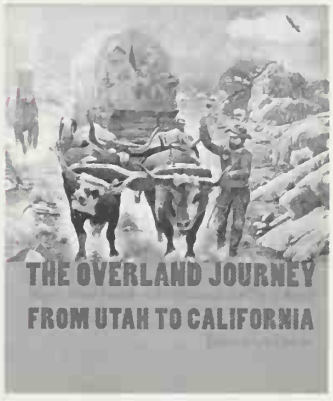
The next eight chapters proceed in chronological order, beginning with the Francisco Garces expedition in 1538, and closing in the 1880s, when railroads greatly reduced the importance of the overland wagon road. Lyman's bibliography runs to ten pages, and includes 83 manuscript sources from such major collections as the LDS Historical Department and Archives, the Bancroft Library, and the Huntington Library. The bibliography is well connected with the text through 30 pages of notes. The amount of detail in Lyman's account may seem overwhelming, and the nonspecialist is advised to begin with the tenth and last chapter, "Summary and Conclusions," and then go back to pursue topics of particular interest.

Although some five thousand forty-niners traveled the Southern Route, it was never a direct route to the goldfields, and reports of heat and desert terrain further discouraged later Argonauts who might have tried it. It was the two-way Mormon traffic of the 1850s that truly established this route, and made it as much a road to the interior as a road to the coast.

The Southern Route expanded the Mormon heartland near Salt Lake to include what later became known as Utah's "Dixie." More distant outposts at Las Vegas and San Bernardino were established as part of Brigham Young's plan of creating an entryway for Mormon immigrants who would disembark in San Diego. In addition to Mormons, a variety of travelers, miners, drovers, commercial freight haulers, and mail carriers plied the Southern Route in its glory days of the 1850s and 1860s. The completion of the Pacific railroad in 1869, by giving the Salt Lake region faster and cheaper connections to the East and to California, reduced the through traffic. The Utah end was largely superceded by branch rail lines running south from Salt Lake City, but the California end remained a busy wagon road for many more years of mining booms and busts in the desert.

Contacts with Native Americans, sometimes friendly and sometimes not, were an important aspect of life on the road throughout these years, and Lyman covers this aspect of the road's history in detail. He also deals squarely with the worst outbreak of violence that occurred on this or any of the western trails, the Mountain Meadows massacre of September 8, 1857, an event that may be unique in the annals of western history in that it involved an alliance of whites and Indians in attacking an emigrant party of whites.

Despite competition from railroads local wagon traffic never entirely disappeared, and the line of travel first marked out by miners and Mormons was revitalized by cars and trucks in the twentieth century. The Southern Route, with local divergences, survives as today's Interstate 15.



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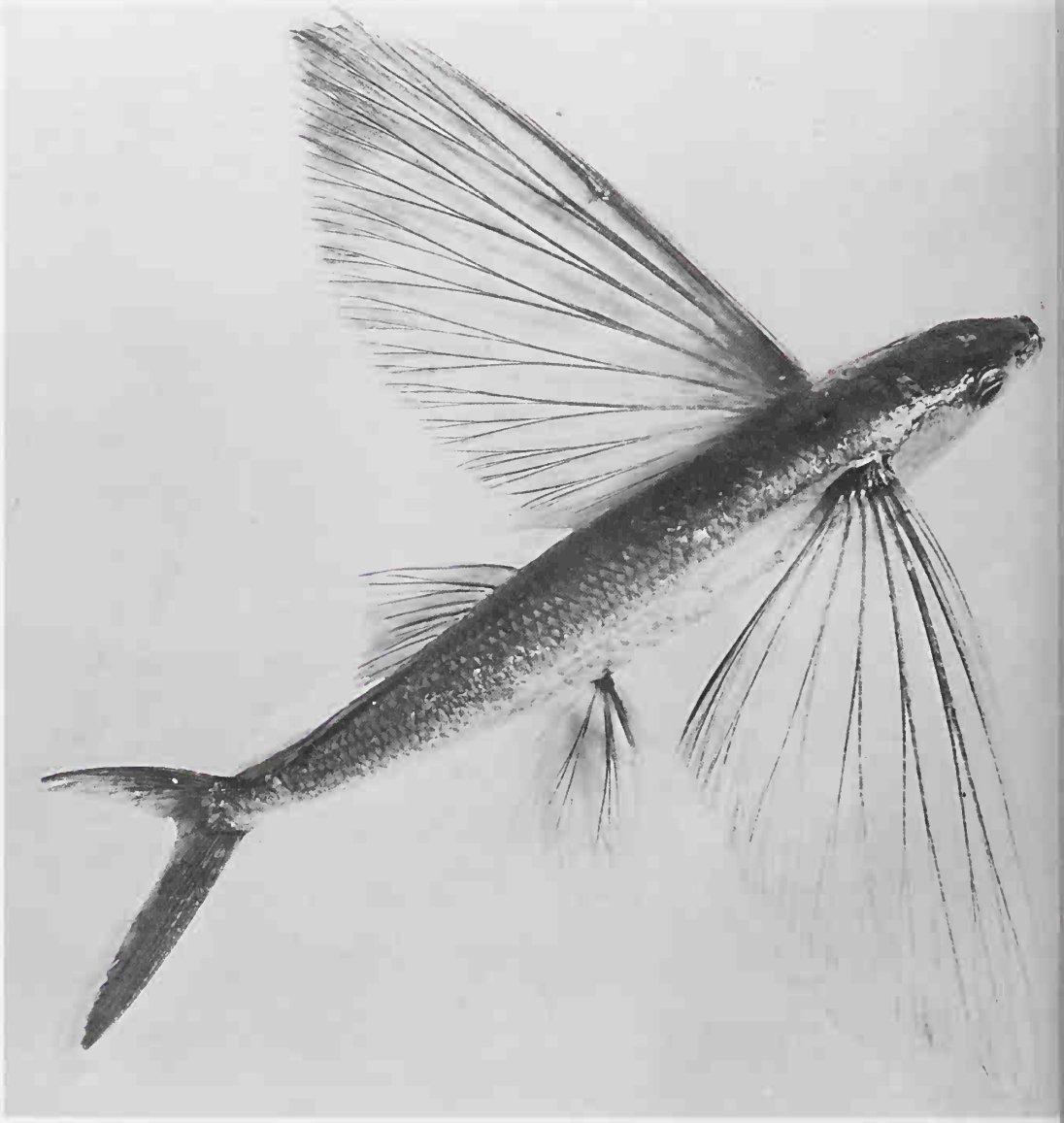

PHOTOGRAPHER
C. C. Pierce

LOCATION
Pacific Ocean, Catalina Island, California, ca. 1910

FLYING FISH

The simplicity of this photograph evokes, perhaps unintentionally, traditional Japanese gyotaku fish prints, in which an imprint is taken on rice paper from a fish covered in ink. While this flying fish may have been photographed for its beauty and novelty, it perhaps served as a stock image or as a record in a natural history collection.

This flying fish is typical of the fish (family Exocoetidae) that boaters often see skimming above the Pacific Ocean around Santa Catalina Island. It belongs to a collection of images of the flora and fauna of California.

Photographer C. C. Pierce, active from 1886 to 1940, was one of Los Angeles's leading photographers. He also collected images of Los Angeles and stamped them with his own mark. It's not clea if this elegant flying fish was photograp ed by Pierce or another photographer.

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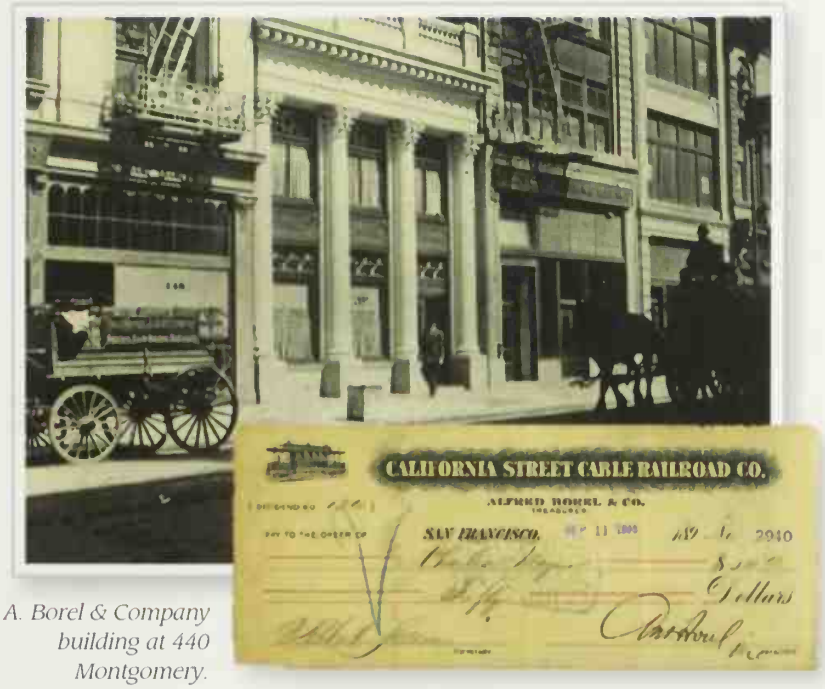

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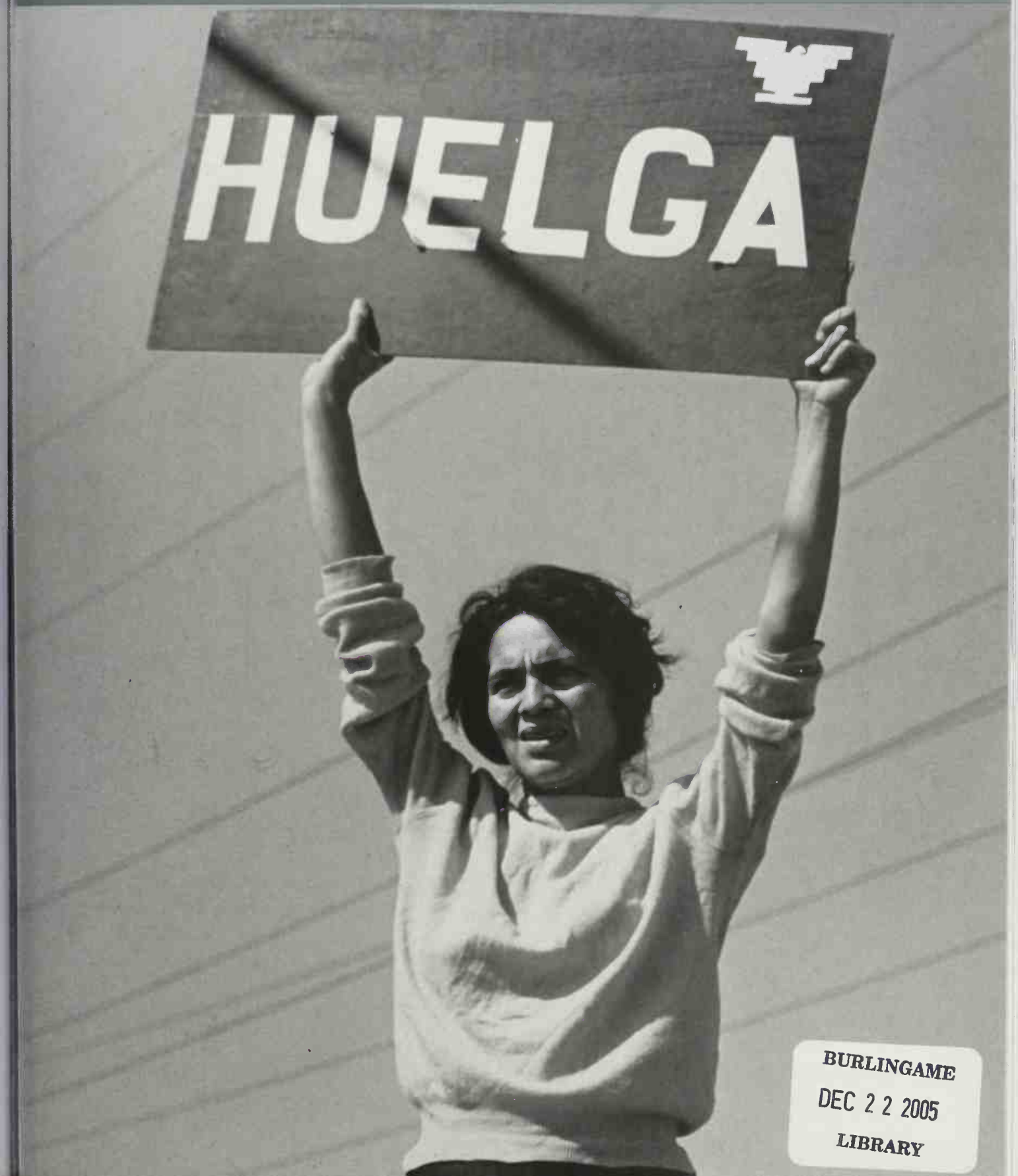

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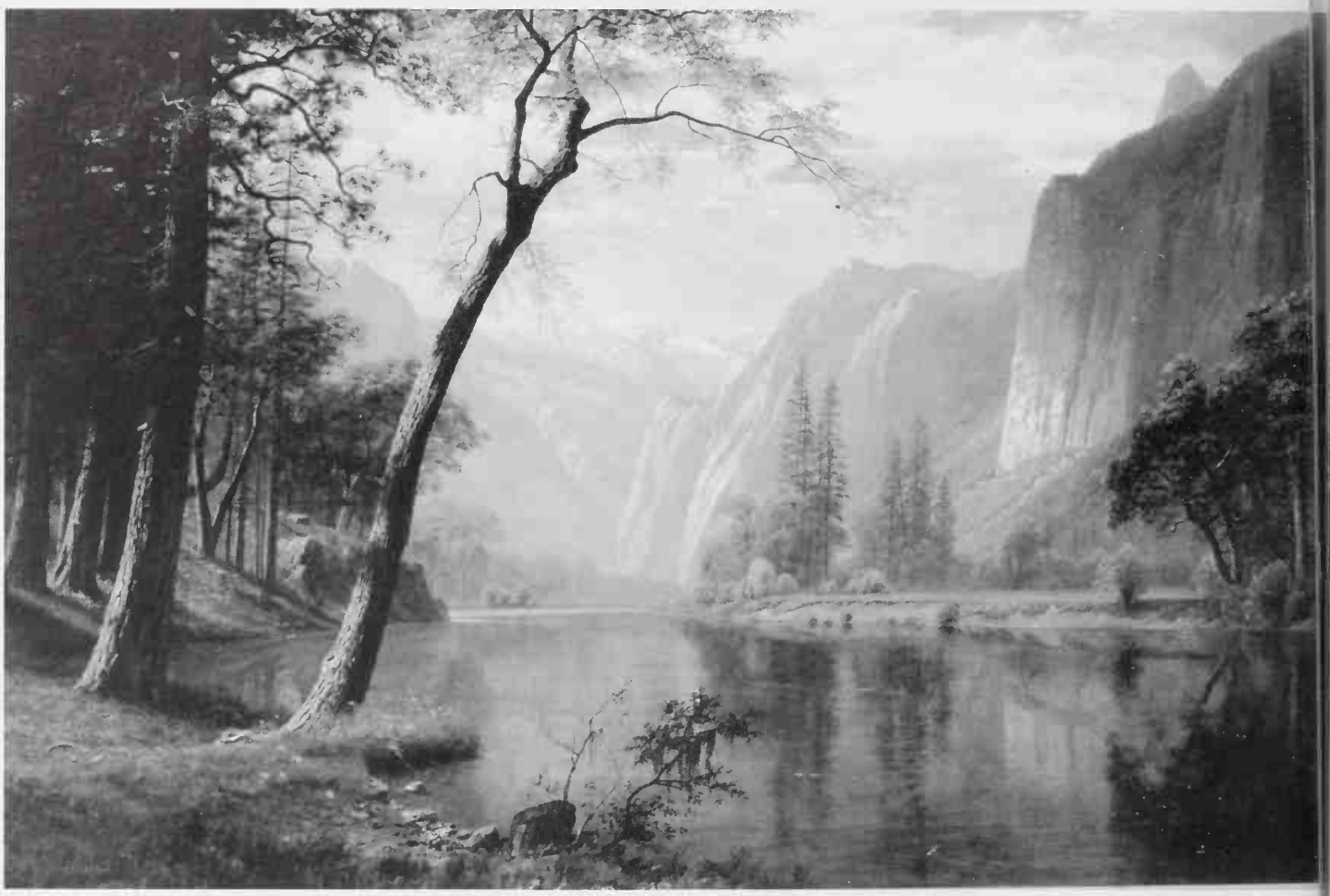
ON THE COVER:

On September 25, 1965, Harvey Richards caused a huge uproar when he photographed Delano grape strike leader Dolores Huerta on top of an old automobile holding up a sign proclaiming Huelga *(Strike). Published on the cover of the October 2 issue of* People's World, *and subsequently republished in many other newspapers and magazines, including the* San Francisco Examiner, *the image soon caught the attention of an anonymous informant. On the basis of this information, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover initiated an investigation of Richards, opened an ongoing file on César Chávez, and spied on the farmworker movement for the next ten years.*

Courtesy of the Harvey Richards Film Collection/ Estuary Press.

COLLECTIONS



One of the most significant works in the CHS collection is Albert Bierstadt's On the Merced River, *which he based on his first trip to Yosemite in 1863.*

ALBERT BIERSTADT (1830—1920), *ON THE MERCED RIVER* (NO DATE). OIL ON CANVAS

Autry National Center Collaboration Brings California Historical Society Collections to Los Angeles

In an effort to bring the vibrant history of California to a wider audience, the California Historical Society and the Autry National Center have joined forces to display in Los Angeles significant works of art and costumes by some of America's best known nineteenth and early twentieth-century artists.

More than sixty paintings by such artists as Albert Bierstadt, James Walker, and Maynard Dixon, and turn-of-the-nineteenth-century costumes will be displayed in California Historical Society Gallery of the Autry Center, opening in 2008, after a temporary exhibition in 2007.

Established in 1871, CHS collects, preserves, publishes, and exhibits materials on the history of California and the West. Its collections contain paintings, photographs, costumes, archiv material, and a library of inestimable value and historic significance. CHS has entered into a collection-sharing agreement with the Autry that will allow the strengths of each to be use productively and effectively to furthe the collective benefit of both in serving the people of California.

The collection will remain under the Autry's purview for a period of one

LEFT: *Samuel Marsden Brooks was born in England and immigrated to the United States in 1833. He settled in San Francisco in 1862 and was a founding member of the Bohemian Club. His detailed and highly realistic paintings earned him great success during his lifetime.*
SAMUEL MARSDEN BROOKS (1816—1892), *MY HAND* (CA. 1883) OIL ON ARTIST S BOARD

BELOW: *James Walker painted an idealized version of Californio life before the influx of American settlers. His work celebrated the vitality of ranch life and glorified picturesque customs and lifeways for the consumption of eastern audiences.*
JAMES WALKER (1818—1889), *CATTLE DRIVE #1* (CA. 1857) OIL ON CANVAS. GIFT OF MR. AND MRS. REGINALD WALKER

ndred years, during which time the try will be responsible for long-term nservation, curatorial activities, pub- ations, exhibitions, educational pro- ams, storage, and loan requests by ner institutions.

luseums in the twenty-first century e being challenged to get their eatest art and artifacts out of stor- e and into public view," said Stephen cker, executive director of the CHS. "Our partnership with the Autry extends our limited galleries in San Francisco to a magnificent new space in Los Angeles. We're proud to become partners with the Autry, an institution that is growing and maturing, and is clearly the West's greatest and largest museum of California and Western American history and culture."

"Our partnership with the Autry is a dream come true for both institutions," said Robert A. McNeely, president of the CHS board of trustees. "We have long wished to have a greater presence in Los Angeles and southern California. By sharing some of the best and most treasured pieces of our art and artifact collections, we've been able to fashion a long-term commitment that will benefit both organizations and, more importantly, truly share the society's collections with large public audiences."

Kelso Dunes, Mojave National Preserve, washed clean by the rain.
KATHY TALLEY-JONES

MIDNIGHT IN THE MOJAVE

By Kathy Talley-Jones

By the time you read this, my husband John will probably have forgiven me for last year's Valentine's weekend in the Mojave desert. He's not the kind of guy who holds a grudge, but sitting in a smoky tent cabin bundled in a sleeping bag and eating Doritos and bean dip isn't his idea of a romantic getaway.

In theory, it seemed like a good idea. The National Park Service website claims that the Mojave National Preserve is the place "to escape the crowded visitor centers and campgrounds found at other parks." They have that right: we're the only people here. Who can resist the romance of the desert? Everyone, apparently. It doesn't help that Valentine's Day was smack in the middle of southern Californi second wettest winter ever, or at le since meteorologists started settin up weather stations on top of buil ings in downtown Los Angeles. A evidently everyone is smarter than am about traveling in the desert i the rain.

We start out in what had becom normal weather conditions: a delu the clouds heavy sponges wringin themselves out over southern Calif nia. Despite the weather, we surf ou the I-15 from Los Angeles, our litt Toyota Celica a bobbing speck float ing between the big rigs and th Lincoln Navigators bound for Vega Geysers of rain splash on the wind shield faster than our wiper blade can sweep them away, and it is a reli to turn off the interstate at Baker, where for once the world's tallest the mometer has a reading shivering around 40 degrees.

In Baker, we stop at the Desert Inf mation Center and learn from the park ranger that most of the dirt roa in the park have been washed out. He is cheerful about the rain, antici pating a great wildflower display co ing in the spring. Never mind that i took him an hour and a half driving over muddy roads to get to work. Ra gers have a different perspective on convenience than those of who live in cities. They also have four-whee drive vehicles.

We cross into the park in early even ing, but can't see much as we drive in. Although the rain has let up, low pockets of fog swath the Joshua trees Spatters of drizzle bloom upward on the windshield, and it's tempting to

tch their crazy SpinArt patterns
stead of the road. It's nearly dark
ien we get to Nipton, and we stop
at the Nipton Café. Not a moment
) soon—the café closes at 6:30.
hurry over and the cook concocts
arty and welcome bowls of pasta
mavera.

pton is a cluster of small buildings
d trailers, originally built to serve
al ranching and mining outfits.
ppeno Camp had been established
1905 to serve the San Pedro, Los
geles, and Salt Lake railroads, and
name was changed to Nipton in
10 when the railroads consolidated
h the Union Pacific. Today the ham-
functions as gateway to the Mo-
e and a place where local people
y their lottery tickets.

e Nipton Hotel was completed in
10, restored in 1986, and refur-
hed in 2004. It has five small bed-
oms, a large common sitting room,
d two bathrooms down the hall.
a chilly, damp February evening
s a comfortable and welcome spot
stay.

l night long we are reminded of
pton's historic connection to the
ion Pacific by the trains slowing
the road one hundred yards away
d blasting their horns. It's a sound
u get used to by about 3 a.m., and
er a while it's soothing to feel the
ilding shaking and the air rum-
ng. I thought so. John didn't.

is a relief to see that it has stopped
ning when we get up and take a
k around. The air is heavy with the
ell of wet creosote. The sun shines
patches on the gentle rise and
swelling of the Cima dome, stretching for miles uphill from the hotel. This granitic plug—considered "the most symmetrical, natural domed feature in the United States," according to one guidebook— accounts for the hard slog trains and trucks take up the slope. One passing train has four locomotives.

A sign for land for sale in front of the hotel says the parcel is Class 1 desert tortoise habitat. The cashier in the market confirms that tortoises are a common sight at the federal sanctuary at Ivanpah nearby and that they'll have a great year, come spring, with all the wildflowers expected. But now the tortoises are all asleep, snug in their burrows.

There's an E Clampus Vitus marker by the tracks. Clara Bow stayed here and entertained friends, it says. I can imagine a Clamper winking at "entertained." A coyote yips a little after 7 a.m., whooping it up after a late night. As I check out the marker, a train rattles by heavy with container cars: Hamburg Sud. K Line. Maersk. The train is lit by the sun, yellow locomotives, red containers.

I see the tent cabins and am attracted by the way they glow in the sun. We look inside one, and I impulsively ask if we can switch our hotel room for a tent cabin. We can—and before we know it, we have two sleeping bags to use as covers and a box of damp tinder and park service newsletters to burn in the wood stove. John hates tents but he goes along with me because the tents are set a little farther back from the train tracks than the hotel. Perhaps it will be quieter.

We set out to explore the preserve. Because most of the internal roads are closed due to flooding except the main road that connects the I-15 to the I-40, we find ourselves driving the long way around the outside of the preserve to get to Mitchell Caverns, a state park inholding.

The rain holds off and the skies are spectacular, setting off the jagged ridges of the Providence Mountains and other ranges. The caverns were developed as a tourist attraction by entrepreneur Jack Mitchell in 1932 and became part of the state park system in 1954. We arrive around noon and hang around to wait for the tour and enjoy the walk to the cave, where it is a warm 54 degrees on this chilly and breezy winter day.

The outbuildings at the visitor center include Mitchell's idiosyncratic take on rustic architecture, incorporating chunks of slag glass, painted faux turquoise, and petroglyphs that he'd collected locally. With the wet weather and the green vegetation, the Mojave seems to hold promise for a hunter-gatherer.

We begin to think about our own next meal. Because we have to skirt the outside of the park, we have a long drive back to Nipton—and the café shuts early in the evening. We drive through Searchlight, Nevada, hoping to find a pizza place, but all we find are casinos that make only the barest efforts at food. Being vegetarians makes the search for food that much more problematic. We check out the convenience stores, being grimly willing to heat a burrito

or frozen pizza on the wood stove, but find only pepperoni pizzas and beef burritos. We buy a bag of Doritos and a can of Frito-Lay bean dip, which is much more like spackle than it is like food. Thank heaven this isn't Utah. At least we can buy a six-pack.

The tent cabin is cold. The wood stove smokes. The toilet is outside in a shed. The trains are relentless. The sleeping bags are satiny and slick and slide off us in the night. John completely loses his sense of humor and is ready to drive back to Los Angeles, but we can't face driving back in the rain, so we stick it out.

After a breakfast of Doritos and spackle we pack up the car and head out by way of the Kelso Dunes. The sun has come out for the first time in weeks, and there isn't a cloud anywhere. The dunes gleam in the sun. There are no other cars in the parking lot, and we have the sand to ourselves. Ordinarily walking through sand can be rough, but today the sand has been packed by the rain, which has also washed away other visitors' footprints. The sand feels like cool confectioners sugar filtering into my boots.

We climb up to the highest ridge of the sand dunes, which is as narrow as a knife edge. The sand is firm and doesn't sift away under our feet. From the top of dunes, which rise six hundred feet above the desert floor, we can see mountain ranges stretching for miles to the north and south. A tiny train pulls up to the grand Kelso depot, built in 1923, still being renovated by the park service. From our vantage point we look down on a raven wheeling by and watch the progress of a train making its way slowly and silently up the Cima Dome. John concedes that it's beautiful up here and makes the trek and the bean dip worthwhile. We promise to come back soon now that we know what kind of preparations we need to make. But tent cabins? No, John says. Never again.

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Park Service website: http://www.np
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Providence Mountains State Recrea
tion Areas (Mitchell Caverns): http:/
www.parks.ca. gov/default.asp? pag
_id=615

Good eats in the town of Goffs. The restaurant is gone, but the sign remains.
KATHY TALLEY-JONES

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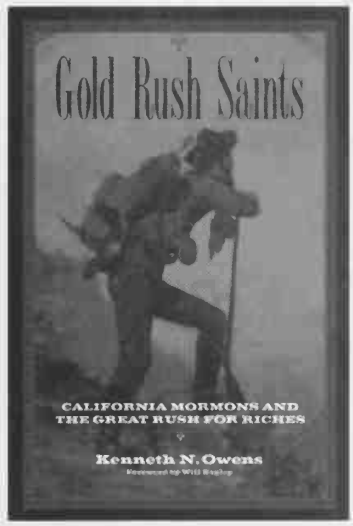

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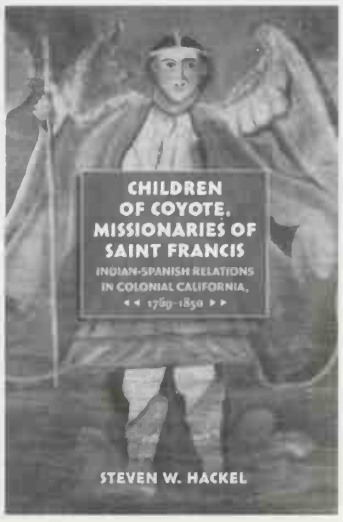

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Everyone Had Cameras:

Photographers, Photography and the Farmworke Experience in California—A PHOTOGRAPHIC ESS

By Richard Steven Street

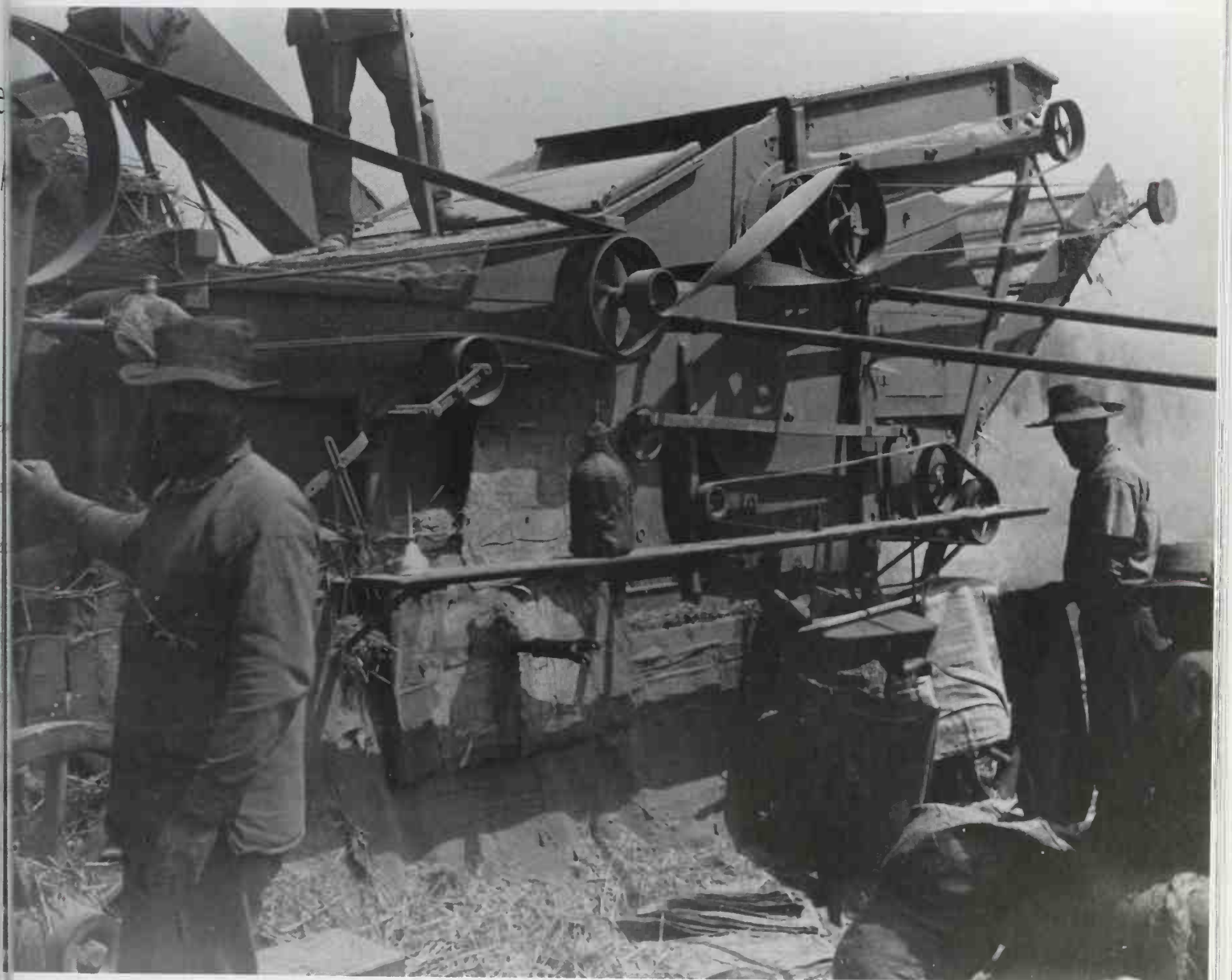
"César Chávez really knew the value of photography . . . . He was very visually aware. I don't think he did anything during the first year of the strike without considering how it would look on film. To an extent that few realized, much of what the National Farm Worker Association did was conceived with the idea of shaping the visual record to their advantage. Everyone had cameras."

—John Kouns, freelance photographer, Delano, California, 1965–1966

The photographers who have worked among California farmworkers have been called the eyes of conscience, but they have also been called propagandists for hire. They have recorded life and labor in the fields, even while obscuring its harsh realities. They have probed the human condition and glorified an industry, captured tenacity, generosity, and dignity, and also recorded suffering, injustice, and violent class warfare.

A diverse and eclectic group as varied in composition as are farmworkers themselves, these photographers never comprised a unified movement and went about their business individually, at their own pace, in their own ways, according to their own special visions. They include professionals and amateurs alike, some of the great chroniclers of the human condition, as well as photographers with a deeply selective, highly fragmented, episodic, and uneven perspective. Presenting a multitude of views and often incline to overemphasizing certain people, places, and events, they have at times been lopsided in thei boosterism and top-heavy with highly critical imagery stressing the dark side. Many have bee physically, emotionally, and intellectually brave. A few have lived on next to nothing, under dan gerous circumstances. Some have refused to tak sides and shifted easily between lucrative adver tising and unprofitable editorial images, betwee idealized and seductive representations of com mercial farming and more probing explorations into the less beautiful, sometimes gruesome rura underside. Some have been little more than voyeurs, "day-tripping into someone else's nigh mare," as British photographer Anthony Lloyd has said of certain war photographers covering Bosina in 1993.[1]

Photographers have drawn more attention to California farmworkers than any other chroniclers except for John Steinbeck and Carey Mc Williams. Has their work made a difference? Some people might argue that images of immigrants living in caves and shelters made of garbage while picking strawberries remind us of th growing gap between rich and poor and the exis tence of a variety of American apartheid. Others might say that after being exposed again and



Of all the pre-1900 images of farmworkers, the most modern and unusual were taken by **Carleton E. Watkins**, *who achieved fame by recording scenes of wonder and curiosity in the Yosemite Valley and along the Columbia River. A versatile commercial photographer, Watkins accepted all kinds of assignments. In 1888 he traveled from San Francisco to Bakersfield to make 750 views of ranches and property owned by land magnates James B. Haggin and Lloyd Tevis. Framed by ominous machinery and exuding danger, this view is one of four images moving in from a distant "establishing" view to a final, closely cropped image.*

Courtesy of Tenneco West

again to such images we suffer a kind of "compassion fatigue" in which the I've-seen-it-before syndrome can only be overcome by seeking out ever more sensational images.

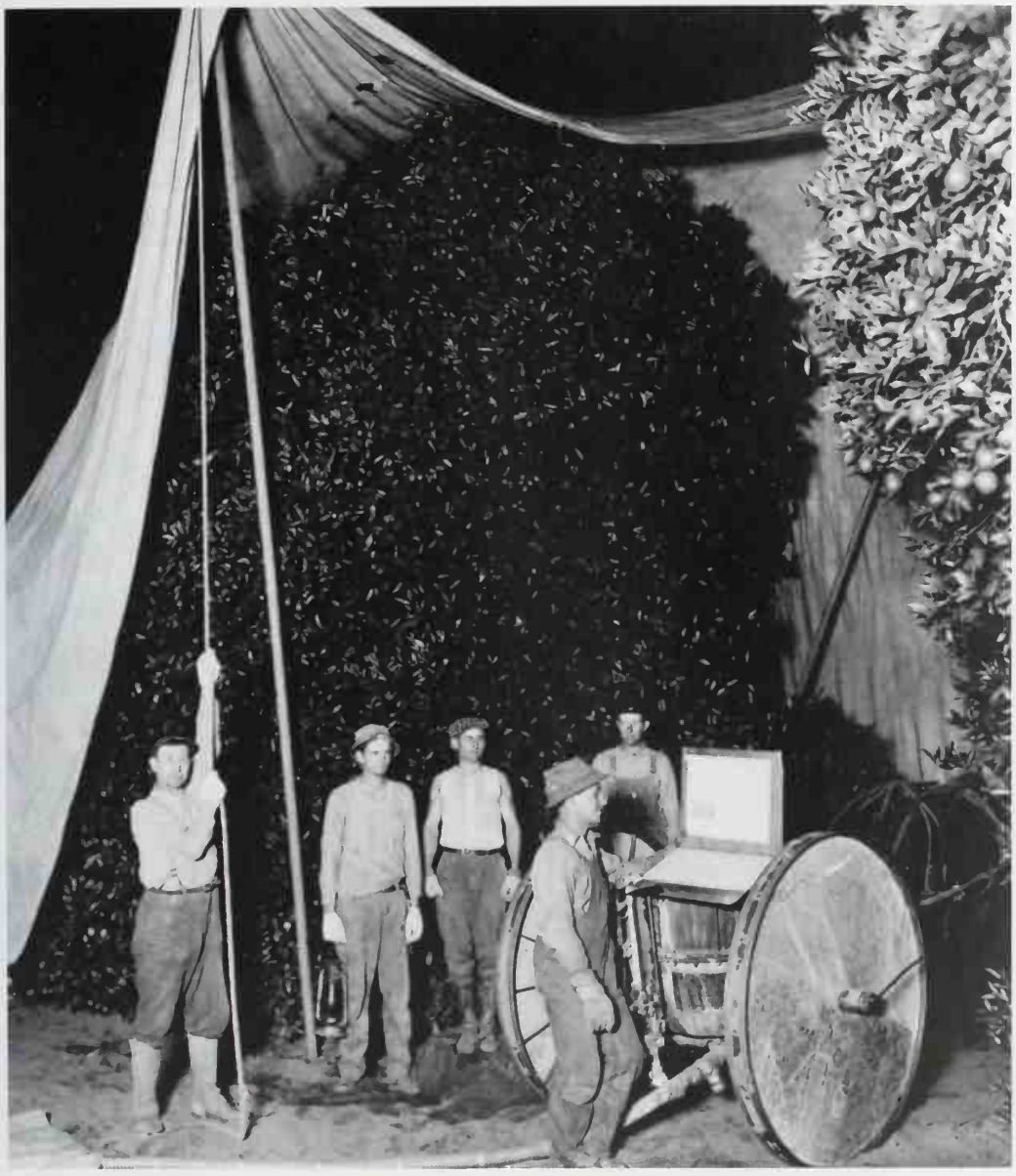
Most people would probably agree with what we intuitively know and see from common experience—that photographers matter very much to farmworkers. Their work exerts a pervasive influence on events. "No art form transforms human apathy quicker," explains composer, novelist, and photographer Gordon Parks. "Having absorbed the message of a memorable photograph, the viewer's sense of compassion and newfound wisdom come together like the two lips touching."[2] Even more so than writers, photographers have the capacity to change the world, or at least provide a kiss of enlightenment that can lead to change.

Although the work of documentary photographers during the Great Depression is usually cited as the best evidence for such impact, their modern counterparts have probably done more. In the Delano grape strike from 1965 to 1970, a small group of audacious photographers played a key role in projecting the conflict far beyond the vineyards into the larger public arena. Their work allowed farmworkers to launch a boycott of table grapes and disrupt the American conscience as much as any striking group of coal miners or auto workers.

As important to the United Farm Workers Union as politicians, picket captains, labor leaders, reporters, and the usual array of volunteers and sympathetic bystanders, photographers shape the organizing struggle alongside such traditional labor relations factors as the nature of the work force, structure of the industry, characteristics of employers, role of government, and public input. Just as scenes of police billy clubs and fire hoses unleashed against peaceful civil rights protesters in the American South seemed incredible to many citizens, scenes of mass marches, fasts, arrests, and nonviolent protests have had a similar galvanizing effect on public attitudes toward the farmworker struggle in California and throughout the United States. With the exception of the civil rights movement, few other struggles have been so strongly affected by photographers and photography.

Moving through the farmworker community down to the grass roots level, photographers today are a ubiquitous presence. No organizing activity, no strike, no protest, no boycott is set in motion without ample photographic coverage, notification of all possible newspaper photographers, or contact with all variety of freelancers. So deeply imbedded in the farmworker story are photographers that it cannot be told, studied, or understood without paying attention to their shifting evolving vision. So common are they as witnesses on picket lines, and at strikes and demonstrations, that it is normal to see not only photojournalists and documentary photographers but also security guards, police, growers, farmworkers, and assorted bystanders, all armed with cameras each awaiting some decisive—or incriminating—moment.[3]

Trained as a professional historian (Ph.D, Wisconsin) Richard Steven Street is founder of Streetshots agricultural photography. His clients include some of the largest farming operations in the United States. He returned to academic life as a visiting professor at Stanford University in 2000. A Guggenheim Fellow and the Ansel Adams Fellow at the Center for Creative Photography, he is the author of *Beasts of the Field: A Narrative History of California Farmworkers, 1769–1913* (Stanford University Press, 2004), and *Photographing Farmworkers in California* (Stanford University Press, 2004). Street presently holds an American Philosophical Society Fellowship and is completing *Knife Fight City and Other Essays*, (University of Oklahoma Press) a collection of his photographic essays on rural California, named after his Pulitzer Prize-nominated essay on the poorest town in California.



hotographic engagement developed remarkably late in the arc of photography's involvement with farmworkers. uring the first seventy-five years, photographers with few exceptions saw farmworkers as adjuncts of a landscape, ·ops in a composition, or elements of scale in a picture of this or that crop, process, or new machine, not as people ruggling with life's dilemmas, worthy of coverage in their own right. Despite their talents and expertise, photogra- ıers at this time were mostly businessmen and friends of agriculture. As photographers they were, notwithstanding certain creative flare and technical expertise, conventional craftsmen who preferred to duck issues. They did not e photography as a voice for transcendent moral values, a way to inspire action, a mechanism for expressing olitical feelings, or an instrument of reform. Largely ignoring sweat, heat, dirt, pain, exhaustion, and living condi- ons, they concocted a perspectives that minimized disagreeable and bothersome components and maximized sales otential.

dding to these biases, large, bulky cameras, along with wet and dry glass plate negatives requiring long exposures, iminated spontaneity and attention to work motion. Lacking both the ability and inclination to criticize the sta- s quo or even to see farmworkers as individuals, their formal, predictable, highly ritualized work, despite its docu- entary value, did not directly confront life or labor in the fields. Projecting an image of ordered abundance, this erspective dominated the picture well into the first decades of the twentieth century. We see this approach well-rep- sented in **William Feckler's** *1915 night-time flash lit shot of a fumigation crew lowering a tent over a tree in a ovina citrus grove before pumping in hydrocyanic gas.*

ourtesy of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California

During the 1933 San Joaquin Valley cotton pickers' strike, seventeen-year-old high school student ***Ralph Powell*** *was at his father's Hanford studio one morning when a California Highway Patrol captain from the office next door suggested that someone ought to head over to the strike and take pictures. After photographing the strikers' camp, Powell documented a Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union funeral parade through downtown Corcoran, then followed strikers out to the picket lines. In one photograph, about twenty Mexican women are crowded into the back of a truck. The driver has opened the cab door and is looking out, smoking a cigarette. The women, barely tall enough to see over the wooden scaffolding, stare unsmiling toward Powell. Featured prominently in full-page stories on the strike and Corcoran tent city that appeared in the* Los Angeles Times, La Opinión, Sacramento Bee, *and the* Fresno Bee, *Powell's work captured the first images of picketing in the fields.*

After photographing the strike, Powell moved into his father's business. He never again photographed in the fields, even though Hanford, the community where he would reside for the next sixty years, was prime farm country. Powell's work is preserved today because, while investigating the strike, University of California economics professor Paul Taylor acquired a set of Powell's prints, incorporated one set into a documentary history of the cotton strike that was published as part of the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee hearings in 1940, then deposited one set of prints in the Library of Congress and another in the Bancroft Library, where they would be consulted and used by countless historians without proper attribution or payment over the next sixty-five years.

Courtesy of Ralph H. Powell

Dreamers, idealists, and avid readers of Jack London's novels and stories of high adventure, ***Otto Hagel*** *and* ***Hansel Mieth Hagel*** *met while growing up in working class families near Fellbach, a small provincial village near Stuttgart in southwestern Germany. Otto headed for the United States in 1928, one of the first of dozens of first-rate photographers to flee Germany. Hansel followed in 1930. Bringing with them a good measure of daring and chutzpah born of fear and a desperate desire to succeed, they engaged in an early version of the participant-observer reporting. During the 1936 Salinas Valley lettuce packers' strike, Otto abandoned the Speed Graphic and Graflex cameras that were the standard photographic equipment of the era and used his 35-millimeter Leica to produce a stunning photo essay that went far beyond that of any other photographer. During a lull in the action, he snapped this picture of deputies and armed vigilantes near the lettuce coolers in downtown Salinas.*

Courtesy of Hansel Mieth Hagel

Having missed the Salinas Valley lettuce packers' strike of 1936, **Dorothea Lange** *was determined to do better in October 1938, when cotton pickers went on strike in the southern San Joaquin Valley. Working late into the night, Lange was assisted by* **Rondal Partridge** *(Imogen Cunningham's son), who used two strobe lights to make this photograph of a crowd listening to speakers from the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers Union at a clandestine meeting in the Mexican section of Shafter.*

Courtesy of Rondal Partridge

*Attempting to produce "a photographic project where I would interpret the camp and its people, their daily life, and their relationship to their community and their environment," **Ansel Adams** traveled to Manzanar War Relocation Camp in the fall of 1943. Sympathetic and upbeat, Adams tried to stress that Japanese internees were engaged in productive agricultural work. Drawn to the farms and fields surrounding Manzanar, Adams avoided the barbed wire and guard towers and found perspectives that transformed fields full of captive workers into dramatic landscapes where people appeared, much as they had in pre-1930s photographs, as incidental elements amid scenes of enduring, even breathtaking beauty. No single image more clearly demonstrates this than his photograph of the North Farm. Finding an elevated location, possibly on top of his car, Adams used the early morning light to create what is in essence a grand panorama of neat, cultivated rows converging at the base of the towering Sierra Nevada. Without a caption identifying the workers as internees, a viewer might easily mistake the image as a sublime modernist vision of commercial agriculture.*

Courtesy of the War Relocation Authority Collection. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Documentary photography had dominated the picture of California farmworkers since Dorothea Lange established it in the mid-1930s, then all but passed from the scene during and after World War II. Although known for his celebrity portraits, Life *magazine photographer* **Loomis Dean** *made an important contribution to the documentary record in 1951, when he photographed an essay on undocumented workers crossing the border to work on farms in the Imperial Valley. After the Border Patrol arrested one group, Dean followed them into the Calexico jail. Using a Leica camera with a 28-millimeter lens, Dean leaned against the cell bars and overcame the low light with a series of exposures at one-half or one-tenth of a second.*

Courtesy of *Life Magazine* and *Time* Inc.

Lacking government support, photographers could seldom follow farmworkers over a sustained period, as Dorothea Lange had done in the 1930s. But several produced notable essays during a brief sojourn in the fields. Los Angeles commercial photographer ***Leonard Nadel*** *produced some extremely graphic images during the six months he devoted to documenting the bracero labor program in 1956. At the Calexico processing center he captured this image of braceros lining up to have their heads and genital areas sprayed with DDT.*

Courtesy of Evelyn DeWolfe Nadel

Hauntingly beautiful in the way it suggests a lifetime of pruning pear trees in the Sacramento-San Joaquin delta, **Roger Minick**'s *exquisite 1966 photograph "Cheng's Hands and Hat" bridges the various genres of high art, documentary photography, and photojournalism. Minick took this picture while photographing his* Delta West *series. To underscore the weathered hands and well-worn hat, Minick placed a piece of black felt on Cheng's lap and photographed in the open shade.*

Copyright 1966, Roger Minick. From the series *Delta West*, 1969. Courtesy of Roger Minick

In 1974, the state of California banned the short-handled hoe, also known as el cortido *and* el diablo. *Requiring workers to stoop over in the shape of a question mark while they waddled down the furrows, the tool destroyed the backs of generations of farmworkers, but was still being used as late as 1992.* ***George Ballis*** *took this classic shot in a San Joaquin Valley field in 1958.*

Courtesy of George Ballis

After following farmworkers for more than a decade, **George Ballis** *produced his most important images during the first months of the Delano Grape strike. When Senator Robert F. Kennedy visited Delano in March 1966, Ballis recorded him giving this impromptu press conference in an Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee hall just after questioning various law enforcement authorities about their handling of the strike.*

Courtesy of George Ballis

An ordained minister, ***Bob Fitch*** *learned photography while covering the civil rights movement in the South. During 1973, he produced some of the most dramatic images of the farmworker movement while covering events in the southern San Joaquin Valley. During a bloody confrontation on the Giumarra Ranch in July, Fitch was hunkered down beside an automobile bumper when he captured a series of images of seventeen-year-old Marta Rodriguez, splattered with mud, defiant, and gritting her teeth in anger while being arrested along with friends and family members.*

COURTESY OF BOB FITCH

As part of a larger photo essay on undocumented farmworkers, ***Roger Minick*** *spent considerable time on a tomato farm in north San Diego County. Winning their trust by giving them Polaroid snapshots, which they promptly folded in half and stuffed in a back pocket to later be sent home as proof that they were doing well in California, Minick focused on one large camp of undocumented farmworkers living in caves dug in a nearby hillside and shelters constructed of junk. In this image, two men bathe in plastic-lined tomato bins following a hard day in the fields.*

Courtesy of Roger Minick

While photographing an essay on how agricultural chemicals were poisoning the Central Valley, freelance photographer **David Wells** *captured a flagger being exposed to drifting spray as a crop duster works an alfalfa field west of Fresno in 1988. From the series* The Pesticide Poisoning of America, *1988.*

Courtesy of David Wells

Today, few in the farmworker movement doubt that photography and photographers play a pivotal role in their cause. Aware of the key role that images play in their struggle, activists continue to design spectacles generating the kind of pictures that attract coverage, win public support, and shift the scene of conflict beyond the fields. I became acutely aware of this on July 8, 1997, in Watsonville, when Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., visited Arturo Rodriguez, the new president of the UFW, to inaugurate a big organizing campaign among strawberry workers. Going to great lengths to make the meeting especially photogenic, union members distributed photographs of a George Ballis photograph of the March 11, 1966, meeting between Kennedy's father and Chávez in Delano. Using a wide-angle lens, I captured a photograph that reveals the creative lengths to which the UFW will go to generate the kind of images that attract coverage. Original in color.

Courtesy of Richard Steven Street/Streetshots

To much public fanfare, the United States Postal Service on April 25, 2003, issued a postage stamp of a smiling young Chávez. Appearing exactly ten years after Chávez died, the stamp was based on one of Bob Fitch's color portraits. But in constructing the image, painter Robert Rodriguez had removed a UFW flag behind Chávez and replaced it with a picture of a lettuce field extracted from a second image shot by freelance photographer Ted Streshinsky and obtained from Corbis Images. Appearing at a time of increased sensitivities following the furor over editorial manipulation of a pyramid to fit a National Geographic *cover and darkening of a mug shot of O. J. Simpson for a* Time *magazine cover, the beautiful composite raised issues about the power of photographic truth and artistic manipulation. For Bob Fitch, it was almost too much to bear. "The U.S. government," he told reporters upon seeing the rendition, "was not ready to put a union label on a stamp." Original in color.*

PHOTOGRAPH BY FREDERICK LARSON. COURTESY OF THE *SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE*

On a Case-by-Case Basis:
Ethnicity and Los Angeles Courts, 1850–18

BY PAUL R. SPITZZERI

In his important study *A History of American Law*, Lawrence Friedman commented that by 1850, in addition to American emigrants, "what traveled west, more important than form, was the general legal culture, the general ways of thinking about law. . . . The notion was: organize or die; and it was the theme of American law, East and West, in the last half of the nineteenth century, in every area and arena of life."[1] Friedman also pointed out that, in late antebellum America, "[a]t best, criminal justice trembled on the brink of professionalism," although he was referring specifically to large Eastern metropolises such as Philadelphia, Boston, and New York.[2]

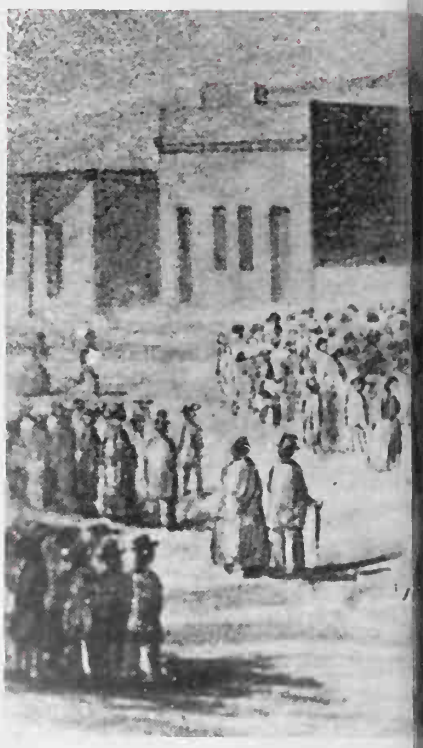
At the time of its incorporation under the American legal system in 1850, Los Angeles was in contrast a small, rural, frontier town, a world away from the major cities of the East Coast. It was also a community perched on the precipice of Friedman's "organize or die" concept and, for the most part, seemed far removed from the "brink of professionalism." Emerging after the Mexican-American War and transformed by the Gold Rush beef trade in southern California cattle, which was itself supplanted by agriculture in the post-Civil War period, Los Angeles's "general legal culture" was also in transition and flux as the town was often beset by violent conflict.[3]

That conflict was often tinged with racial and ethnic antipathy that involved Americans and Europeans, Californios and Mexicans, Indians, and, less frequently, but sometimes more demo strably and dramatically, Chinese and African Americans. Much has been written about ten sions between these groups, to the extent that th dominant theme in the social history of Los Angeles in the latter half of the nineteenth cen tury has revolved around racial and ethnic conflic

What has been lacking, however, is a substanti analysis of how race and ethnicity intersected i the criminal justice system. This is not to say tha these matters have not been interpreted, but, i the most important books about race issues in early Los Angeles, these discussions tend to be based on anecdotal, rather than systemic, ev dence and generalize about the entirety of the criminal justice system on that basis. For exam ple, Leonard Pitt, in his landmark 1966 book *Th Decline of the Californios*, devoted a chapter to what he called "Race War in Los Angeles, 1850– 1856," in which he argued that "the problem of crime and punishment—divided them [the Yan kees, as he referred to Americans and European and the Californios] with razorlike sharpness."[4] Yet, although he cites prominent and dramatic anecdotes copiously from newspapers, memoirs and the like, there is hardly any mention of how "crime and punishment" devolved from actual court operations. Likewise, Albert Camarillo's *Chicanos in a Changing Society* identified "dramati court trials" as party to a race war atmosphere yet cited no specific examples."[5] Richard Griswold del Castillo's *The Los Angeles Barrio* cites the exis

Los Angeles in 1857. The pueblo had been incorporated as an American city in 1850. Between 1850 and 1875, the city saw a boom in growth and an Americanization of the city's population. Relations between Californios, Mexicans, Indians, African Americans, Chinese, Americans, and Europeans were tense. A close analysis of court records, however, shows little statistical bias in conviction rates of defendants with Spanish language surnames compared to their American or European counterparts.

Los Angeles Public Library



tence of "kangaroo trials" and distorted and biased translations at trial, but does not reference any instances of these. Griswold del Castillo does use data on disproportionate jury composition (a finding independently verified for this study by examining jury pools in Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors minute books, revealing that 15 percent of jurors called from late 1855 to early 1862 had Spanish-language surnames, while only 4 percent of jurors from 1870–73 did) to opine that justice was impossible for Latinos.[6] The problem, though, is that it is trial outcome, not jury composition, that is at issue and Griswold del Castillo did not analyze case records for his study.[7] Douglas Monroy, in *Thrown Among Strangers*, described Californios as a "criminalized population," suggesting, without tangible references, that they had no recourse to justice in the courts.[8] Most recently, William Deverell's opening chapter in *Whitewashed Adobe*, his broad study of race and ethnicity issues in Los Angeles, analyzes a few prominent 1850s incidents that had important trial elements, but these are absent because Deverell relied heavily on the memoirs and diaries of such local residents as Horace Bell and William Wallace.[9]

What this simply points out is the lack of a substantive, detailed study of Los Angeles's crimin justice system in the crucial quarter-century aft 1850. This essay, comprising a study of extant criminal court cases, is a first step in such an endeavor. In it, an extensive analysis of case file is interpreted and a surprising conclusion is reached. Namely, in the three most commor types of crimes represented in the system, that is, property-related offenses, assaults, and homi cides (in that order of frequency), the convictior rates of defendants with Spanish-language surnames is only a few percentage points higher than their American or European counterpart and not indicative of identifiable bias on the par of judges and juries. (Because the number of cases involving Indians, Chinese, and African Americans were so few, they were excluded fror this study.) The salient question then is: Did jurie hand down verdicts in ways that reflected Friedman's "organize or die" concept *enough* so that whatever systemic racism existed outside the courthouse did not hold sway within it? From what the surviving court records seem to indicate the answer would be a very guarded "yes." Guarded because the numbers are only statistical indica-

FAR LEFT: *Minute books of the Los Angeles County Court give few details on the progress of cases. One exception is the murder trial of James P. Johnson, who had shot and killed a bartender. In 1857 Judge Benjamin I. Hayes, pictured in 1875, drew a detailed map of the crime scene and gave detailed jury instructions.*

THE BANCROFT LIBRARY PORTRAIT COLLECTION
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

NEAR LEFT: *Judge Benjamin I. Hayes had ordered that a citizen's militia be called to protect murder suspect James Johnson from vigilantes. The citizens of Los Angeles sometimes grew restless when justice was not quickly served and took the law into their own hands, such as those shown in this rendering of an 1863 lynching.*

LOS ANGELES PUBLIC LIBRARY

tors. We cannot go back and read the minds of juries and, as important, we cannot return and account for all of those crimes that did not get reported, lead to arrest, result in an indictment, make it to trial, or that were decided upon by a jury. Still, the results of a detailed analysis of over a thousand cases provide reason enough to re-think existing interpretations of race and ethnicity issues in 1850–1875 Los Angeles, especially as they intersect with the theme of criminal justice administration.

ETTING THE SCENE

The periodization of 1850 to 1875 adopted in this study was chosen for several reasons. In the spring of 1850, Los Angeles was incorporated as an American city, county offices created, the first elections under the new system were held, the courts began their operations, and the common law was officially promulgated. The analysis concludes with 1875, because that year marked the end of the first development and growth boom in the city's history, a period that included an "Americanization" of the 1850s and 1860s cattle town into a nascent city and also during which the American and European population became the demographic majority, as well as the political and economic power brokers.[10] Yet, when the analysis of court records was completed, there was a compelling reason to divide this twenty-five year range into two subdivisions with 1865 as the linchpin date. Prior to that year, the cattle ranching economy was dominant; Spanish-surnamed elites, almost all *rancheros* with large landholdings and wealth through Gold Rush-era beef cattle trade, maintained a significant level of power, in alliance with American and European elites. The Spanish-surnamed were a demographic majority.

After 1865, however, conditions changed drastically. The end of the Gold Rush and a consequent decline in the demand for local animals, the importation of better breeds of cattle from other states, and the dual disaster of flood and drought between 1862 and 1865 not only brought about the collapse of the cattle economy, it contributed to a transformation of southern California society. Californio landowners and Mexican ranch workers were severely affected and lost much of their

livelihood and of their cultural ties to the cattle ranching system. Not generally given to practicing agriculture, these groups saw Americans and Europeans cement their economic dominance in this area. The conclusion of the Civil War also brought a period of significant immigration, consisting almost completely of Americans and Europeans (although a small cadre of Chinese settlers from 1868 onward significantly changed the dynamics of the community) in which the population of Los Angeles rose from a little over four thousand in the 1860 census to nearly six thousand ten years later and an estimated sixteen thousand in 1875.[11] As an emerging business and manufacturing component developed in Los Angeles, Americans and Europeans, too, controlled it. Concomitant with the demographic change in the region, a clear shift is also seen in court records after 1865, so that Americans and Europeans become far more representative as defendants and victims than they were before that date.[12]

Not surprisingly, a number of cases in the court record resulted from assault or murder that took place in or around saloons such as Los Dos Amigos, shown in 1857.
Los Angeles Public Library

Some explanation concerning the use of ethnic terminology is important because court records provide names, but rarely indications of nativity. Therefore, reference to the ethnicity of persons is confined to very general terms, namely *American and European*, meaning those not of Spanish, Mexican, and/or Indian blood; and *Spanish language surnamed*, which seeks to cover all those persons of Spanish, Mexican and/or Indian blood whether they be natives of California (often called *Californios*), of Mexico, or of Central and South America.

LOS ANGELES S COURT SYSTEM, 1850—1875

While the literature frequently refers to the ineffectiveness and ineptitude of city and county officials, the police and judges as well as to the constant threat of vigilantism in the face of a lack of justice served, the criminal justice administration system was severely hampered in its operations by many structural deficiencies. First there were only a very few law enforcement officials in the city and county, including the marshal and a few constables (no more than six in the period of study) in Los Angeles, the only incorporated town in the county (Anaheim had a brief flirtation with incorporation in the early 1870s before returning to township status), and two constables for each township (an administrative entity in county areas, the number of which was as high as twelve by the mid-1870s.) Beyond numbers, it should be noted that these officers were elected and there were no qualifications required as to their knowledge of policing before the era of strict regulations, academies, and other formal components.

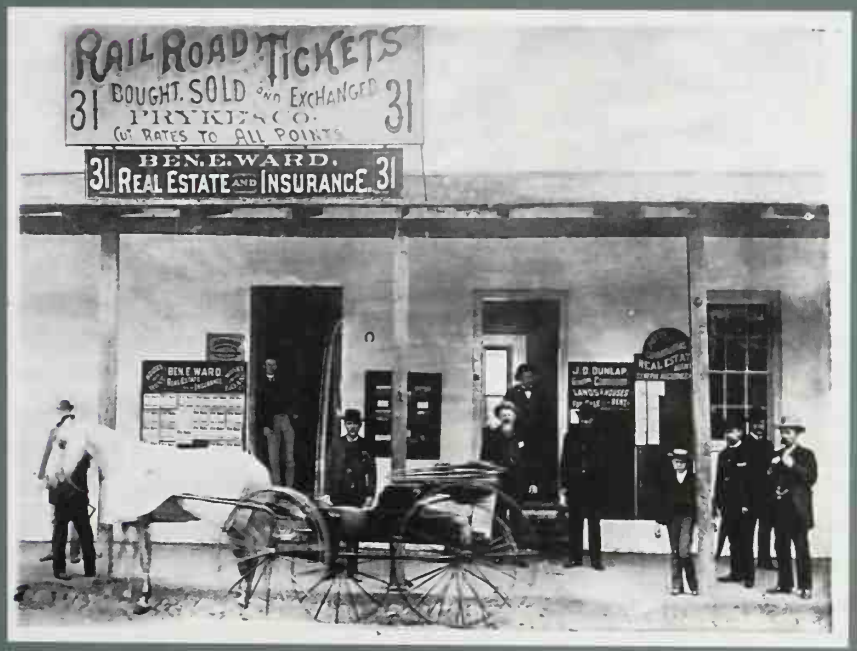
District attorneys and court-appointed defense lawyers had only the barest of requirements to meet by state statute concerning U.S. citizenship, minimum residency in the state and county of

SQUALOR IN L.A. S COURTHOUSE: A TERRESTRIAL PURGATORY

FROM "THE COUNTY COURTHOUSE BUILDINGS," *LOS ANGELES STAR*, NOVEMBER 29, 1856

"We often wonder, when business compels us to attend the sittings of the respective courts, who was the architect that designed the county court house, or in what age it was built. It displays, in an eminent degree, marks of genius. No other man than the projector could have succeeded in placing his victims in positions ensuring them such torture, as the judges, jurors, lawyers and officers must endure, condemned to long sessions in this terrestrial purgatory. The "court room"—we must give it that title, although hogpen is more befitting—is a sort of compressed parallelogram. . . . At the northern end a crib has been erected, in which the Judge is condemned to ruminate . . . on whom he can vent the pent-up torrent of his wrongs. . . .

"But the jury box. Gracious powers! The man who constructed the "iron cage," was tender-hearted as a woman, in comparison with the projector as this device of Satan. . . . The Clerk's position is fanciful—truly enviable . . . securely coralled for all time to come, in a cage just big enough for one side of his record book. . . . But the accommodations for the Bar—that caps the climax. Language can't do justice to the subject. It is an immense four-by-nine area. It can accommodate one man and a chair at a time. If you put in a second man, you must take out the chair. A table is a luxury unthought of—a useless extravagance. A lawyer sometimes has a hat—he may write on the crown of his hat, if it be a stovepipe—if not, he must either borrow one or do without writing. Here there is no provision for such a thing. . . . Besides . . . is to be considered the quantity of dust and filth which has to be stowed away, which no amount of sweeping or cleansing can keep away . . . ."



Los Angeles's first jail and court house, c. 1860. In the city's early years, its court system and law enforcement were seen by many citizens as inept and ineffective. There were very few law enforcement officials and attorneys needed few qualifications to be admitted to the bar.

TICOR/PIERCE COLLECTION, CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, USC SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

Tiburcio Vasquez, the most infamous and romanticized criminal in nineteenth-century Los Angeles. For three years he and his followers robbed ranches and stage coaches throughout southern California. Although captured near what is now the Hollywood Bowl, Vasquez was tried and executed in San Jose.
TICOR/Pierce Collection, California Historical Society, USC Special Collections

residence, and good moral character. Admission to the bar was a procedure with almost no guidelines except the above, and judges had considerable leeway in how they could interview and admit prospective attorneys. As with most of their compatriots in America, only a very few Los Angeles attorneys attended law school, with most receiving their training by "reading" with a law firm; that is, serving as an apprentice and learning on the job.

There were three basic levels in the courts during this era. At the lowest tier were the mayor's court in Los Angeles and its kindred justice courts, headed by two justices of the peace, in the townships. These tribunals presided over petty crimes (justice courts) and ordinance violations (mayor's court), although the justice courts did have the important function of conducting hearings on all criminal complaints brought by residents within the township's jurisdiction and justices either dismissed the complaint or remanded the matter to the appropriate higher court. At the middle level was the court of sessions (renamed the county court in 1867 and reconfigured into the superior court in the new state constitution of 1879), presided over initially by a county judge and two associates selected from among the justices of the peace, and, later, by the county judge singly. This court heard all but the most serious of felony cases (generally, murder, manslaughter, arson, and, for a time, rape were excluded.) Finally, at the highest level was the district court which, as the First District, initially encompassed several southern California counties, at one time ranging from San Luis Obispo to San Diego counties. In 1867, the Los Angeles-area was included in a newly created 17th district with a smaller jurisdiction, but, with a growing population, the county solely comprised the district. The district court, however, was also revamped into the superior court with the new state constitution in 1879. As noted above, this court only heard murder, manslaughter, arson, and, for several years, rape cases, though it had a large calendar of civil matters to attend to.

Concerning appeals, the immediate step was to go to the court immediately above; in other words, justice or mayor's court cases could be appealed to the sessions/county courts; sessions/county court cases were appealed to the district court; and district court cases appealed to the state supreme court. Generally, there were few appeals made and those that appear in the published *California Reports* from the state supreme court only very occasionally include those from the Los Angeles-area districts.[13]

EADING FROM THE RECORD: CRIMINAL OURT CASES IN LOS ANGELES, 1850—1875

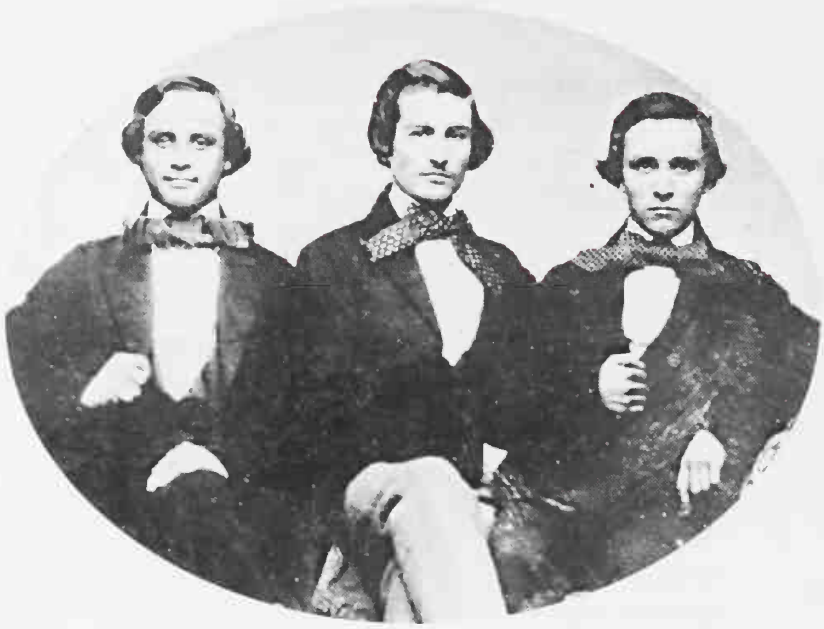
An intensive study was made of all known extant criminal case files from Los Angeles County between 1850 and 1875.[14] There is certainly important ethnographic material at hand regarding the generalized race and ethnicity of defendants and victims, as well as the crucial element of all cases, the verdict, but, sadly, there is much lacking in the files. Much of this is due to what was required (or not, as the case may be) of the county clerk by state law in the archiving of case files. Essentially, statutes only called for the filing of the indictment, subpoenas, and verdicts. Potentially rich sources of information concerning the process and content of trials, such as jury summonses, subpoenas, witness testimony, counsel requests for jury instructions, counsel demurrers (or formal protests to judicial decisions and actions) and the judge's instructions to the jury, among other data, were not required for preservation. Moreover, almost all of the minute books, which kept a day-to-day accounting of the progress of cases, are long gone.[15] Consequently, there are only a very few cases that give us an instructive material on the process of the trial.

For example in the case of *People v. James P. Johnson*, heard in the district court in the summer of 1857, there is much material on the incident, in which the defendant shot and killed barkeeper Henry Wagner. Included is very detailed witness testimony, a rare map of the crime scene drawn by Judge Benjamin I. Hayes, jury instructions, and, notably, an affidavit that a citizen's militia, the Los Angeles Guard, was to provide six men "in order that he [the defendant] may receive the benefit fresh air and medical attendance," though it seems likely that this guard was really called out to protect Johnson from vigilantes. Finally, there is the full text of Hayes's pronouncement of sentence, of which there were others published in the newspaper or referred to in his published diaries.[16]

Some other notable examples of relevant and interesting material in cases concerning ethnicity issues are *People v. Tomas*, an Indian from the summer of 1859 and *People v. Lawrence Embers* from the following year. In the case of Tomas, charged with the stabbing deaths of his wife and daughter in a domestic dispute on a reservation at the very northern extremity of the county, there is testimony from other Indians, who would not, by law, be allowed to testify against non-Indians. Other material concerned Tomas's sanity and ability to distinguish right from wrong with testimony from another Indian, Juan, prominent ranchero Ignacio del Valle, and county jailor Richard Mitchell, as well as motions from defense attorney Jonathan R. Scott for a new trial and an arrest of judgment, claiming that the evidence warranted no higher a charge than second-degree murder, which was not a capital offense. Also noteworthy are items related to Tomas's escape from jail (not an uncommon occurrence in the part-brick, part-adobe structure, which stood very near today's Hall of Records) just before his scheduled execution date in September and the rescheduling of the sentence for the following January.[17]

In the case against Embers, one of the few African American residents of Los Angeles in the period and who was charged by the district attorney for the murder of European Henry Ferling, Hayes's papers contain four pages of notes, including an offer by Embers's defense to plead guilty to manslaughter and otherwise mainly concerning the testimony of witnesses. The district attorney accepted Embers's plea and the defendant was sentenced to five years at San Quentin.[18]

Another case of note is that of *People v. Pancho Daniel* from 1858, concerning one of those accused in the notorious murders of Sheriff James Barton and his deputies in January 1857. Daniel was captured early in 1858 and was granted continuations over several terms of the district court. Among Judge Hayes's papers was an instruction in Spanish for the jury concerning whether Sheriff James Thompson could appear as a witness because of accusations of bias. More important were affidavits from several Angelenos about



Ygnacio Sepúlveda (left), Antonio Yorba, and Adronico Sepúlveda just before leaving Los Angeles for Boston around 1850. The Sepúlveda brothers were sons of José Sepúlveda and grandsons of Francisco Sepúlveda of Rancho San Vicente y Santa Monica. Ygnacio graduated from Harvard Law School, became a member of the California state assembly in 1863–65, and went on to become a judge of the seventeenth judicial district one of the first two superior court justices in Los Angeles County.

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whether Daniel could get a fair trial in a county only one year removed the heat of the aftermath of the Barton murders. Dr. J. C. Welch, John Wheeler, Myer Newmark, constable Frank Alexander, former sheriff Elijah Bettis, and Dr. John S. Griffin also felt he could receive a fair trial, but noted that, if Daniel were acquitted, he would face popular retribution. Significantly, the delays in the trial granted by Judge Hayes gave impetus to vigilantes to storm the county jail in November 1858 and lynch Daniel.[19]

Less substantive, but still of anecdotal interest are examples such as that of the case of *People v. G. Henry Watson*, a grand larceny case involving a stolen federal government mule from July 1860. There was a defense challenge to the testimony of Hadji Ali, because he was a "Mohammedan," though this was overruled by sessions court Judge William G. Dryden.[20] In *People v. Chico Espinoza*, a case determined in October 1857, months after the worse ethnic tension to date between Americans and Europeans and native Californians, the defendant, found guilty of petty larceny in the theft of a cow and serving his sentence of four months in county jail, became ill and Dr. John S. Griffin filed an affidavit asserting that because "he has severe disease of the Liver, and Bronchitis, it is my opinion that the disease will be made much worse by confinement and I further state that it would in my opinion be an act of humani and mercy to release him."[21] Two months late in the case of *People v. Felipe Canedo*, a guilty v dict in the case, involving the charge of assaul with a brick on Los Angeles constable Robe Hester, was accompanied by a statement by th jury that extenuating circumstances (not stated in the record) in favor of Canedo led the jury t request clemency for the defendant. Canedo w sentenced by Sessions Court Judge Dryden to a year at San Quentin, which was evidently the judge's bow to the jury's recommendation.[22]

Therefore, while it would be preferable to link th quantitative, via ethnographic information and jury verdicts, with the qualitative, as, for exampl seen in witness testimony, archival conditions c extant case files necessitate a statistical analysis based on the former.[23]

Among the files, there are an unknown numbe of missing cases because files from the various courts were consolidated at an unknown date an reassigned a uniform numbering series, beginning with the number 1 for the first case in 1850. Yet, the sequence abruptly ends in the midst of 1873 cases, so it is impossible, therefore, to gaug how many case files there actually were and, consequently, how many are missing. The tota number of cases examined for this study was

Table 1: Ethnicity of Defendants

	1850—65	1865—75	Total
Spanish-language surnamed	54.6	33.8	44.6
European/American	34.4	54.6	45.3

1,224. Of these, the most common crimes were larcenies (388 or 32 percent) and assaults (304 or 25 percent), making up nearly six in ten of the total number. Homicide cases, of which there were 126, constituted one in ten of all cases, even though it would be these cases most likely to be publicized in newspapers or talked about on the streets, in club rooms, and in the saloon.[24]

An analysis of the generalized ethnicity of defendants (see Table 1) revealed that Europeans or

Table 2: Ethnicity of Defendants & Victims

	1850—65	1865—75	Total
Both Spanish language	52.5	57.1	54.2
Both European/American	50.0	65.0	59.1
Spanish lang. defendant/ European Am. victim	31.8	29.8	29.8
European Am. victim/ Spanish lang. defendant	18.1	9.0	12.5

Americans accounted for 35 percent of all cases and Spanish-language surnamed defendants at 55 percent, although there was an almost exact reversal in those percentages after 1865, reflecting the important regional demographic shifts noted before.[25]

A further refinement of the ethnicity component is to determine who the victims were. In other words, the interest was in knowing how often crimes were interethnic (outside the same grouping) or intraethnic (within the grouping.) What was found was that (see Table 2), for European or American defendants, their victims were of the same ethnic group about 60 percent of the time. Only a little more than one in ten of these cases involved a Spanish-language surnamed victim. For Spanish-language surnamed defendants, the intraethnic rate was 54 percent, while the interethnic rate related to Europeans and Americans was a little less than one-third.

Because they were the most common crimes, it was decided to focus attention on three major

Table 3: Larceny Cases and Ethnic Composition

	1850—65	1865—75	Total
Both Spanish language	49.7	48.8	49.4
Both European/American	70.0	87.1	80.7
Spanish lang. defendant/ European Am. victim	45.8	45.1	45.5
European Am. victim/ Spanish lang. defendant	22.0	9.4	14.1

Table 4: Larceny Case Convictions

	1850—65	1865—75	Total
Spanish-language	62.2	70.0	64.6
European-American	56.7	64.7	61.7

Table 5: Assault Cases and Ethnic Composition

	1850—65	1865—75	Total
Both Spanish-language	64.8	76.1	68.2
Both European/American	65.6	86.6	76.6
Spanish lang. defendant/ European Am. victim	21.0	15.2	19.2
European Am. victim/ Spanish lang. defendant	22.9	7.4	14.8

Table 6: Assault Case Convictions

	1850—65	1865—75	Total
Spanish language	67.6	54.8	63.6
European-American	32.1	73.8	57.1

groupings: assault (including assault and battery, assault with the intent to injure, assault with a deadly weapon, and assault with the intent to kill), larcenies (both grand and petty larceny; the difference being that property over or under fifty dollars in value was alleged to have been stolen), and homicides (murder and manslaughter.)

For larceny cases (see Table 3), there were a total of 388, of which 251 had a known disposition. European and American intraethnicity was 80 percent (rising nearly 20 percent after 1865.) For the Spanish-language surnamed, however, the rate was only 49 percent and was consistent before and after 1865. It is possible that propertied Americans and Europeans were more likely to be targets, but this doesn't explain why Spanish-

Table 7: Homicide Cases and Ethnic Composition

	1850—65	1865—75	Total
Both Spanish-language	40.0	84.0	62.0
Both European-American	64.0	62.8	63.3
Spanish lang. defendant/ European Am. victim	36.0	12.0	24.0
European Am. victim/ Spanish lang. defendant	24.0	28.6	26.7

A view down "Calle de los Negros," a street in Los Angeles's Chinatown after 1884. A mob had surged through the area, looting and burning houses and lynching residents. The street ran along the southeast side of Los Angeles plaza and later became Los Angeles Street.

TICOR/Pierce Collection, California Historical Society, USC Special Collections

Table 8: Homicide Convictions

	1850—65	1865—75	Total
Spanish language	42.1	75.0	59.0
European-American	42.9	52.0	48.7

surnamed defendants were accused of stealing from Europeans and Americans at nearly the same rate as from others in their group. In those cases with dispositions (see Table 4), the conviction rate differential between the two groups was small, almost 3 percent. Interestingly, conviction rates for both increased at the same pace, 8 percent, after 1865, even as juries become even more one-sided towards Americans and Europeans in their ethnic makeup.

For homicides (see Table 7), there were a total of 126 cases, in 90 of which there is a known disposition. Intraethnicity and interethnicity for both groups was nearly identical. Notably, while European and American rates were consistent, those rates for Spanish-language surnamed defendants after 1865 altered dramatically, with intraethnicity climbing 44 percent and intereth-

Table 9: Larcenies, Assaults, and Homicides and Ethnic Composition

	1850—65	1865—75	Total
Both Spanish-language	54.4	62.7	57.3
Both European-Am.	66.9	82.3	75.9
Spanish lang. defendant/ European Am. victim	35.7	30.7	34.0
European Am. victim/ Spanish lang. defendant	22.8	12.3	16.7

Table 10: Larcenies, Assaults, and Homicides Convictions

	1850—65	1865—75	Total
Spanish-language	62.1	66.3	63.5
European-American	44.4	65.2	57.4

nicity declining almost 25 percent. This is key as the difference in conviction rates (see Table 8) was higher than the other two crime groups, at 10 percent. Also notable is that, before 1865, Europeans and Americans and Spanish-language surnamed defendants were convicted at nearly identical rates, while afterward, the differential is nearly 25 percent. Yet, the rise in Spanish-surnamed defendant convictions occurs as 84 percent of the victims were of the same group.

Overall, for all three crime types, the ethnic composition (see Table 9) concerning intra- and interethnicity shows a strong tendency for the former, though recall that the percentage of Spanish-surnamed defendants with American or European victims in larceny cases was about one-half, suggesting that, because the latter increasingly held greater wealth, they would be the more likely target for larceny crime commissions. What is significant, however, is that there is a conviction rate differential (see Table 10) between the two ethnic groupings of 6 percent. Notably, the difference was greater before 1865, with rates nearly 20 percent higher for Spanish-language surnamed defendants. After 1865, however, the gap narrows considerably to only 1.3 percent, even as jury composition is more overwhelmingly American and European than previously. Additionally, it is notable that conviction rates overall climbed for all three crime types after 1865: 12.5 percent for homicides, 10 percent for assaults, and almost 6 percent for larcenies.

ANALYZING THE REMAINS: INTERPRETING LOS ANGELES CRIMINAL CASE FILES FROM 1850—1875

When this study was embarked upon, it was hoped that criminal court case records would yield substantial information about the trial process, especially rich sources such as witness testimony and jury instructions. Unfortunately, state statutes only required that a few documents be kept in the file, namely, the indictment, subpoenas, and the verdict. Another disappointment was the disarray of the Los Angeles County Archives, although the extraordinarily rapid growth and concomitant volumes of records understandably vastly outpaced the resources allotted to archival preservation. What is left qualitatively speaking is, in a word, marginal.

What remains in the files, however, lends some quantitative credence to the conclusion that criminal justice administration was not skewed dramatically against Spanish-language surnamed defendants nor significantly tilted in favor of Europeans and Americans, though there is a 6

WAR OF RACES.

Riot at Los Angeles, Cal.—The Chinese Murder a Citizen and are Attacked by a Mob.

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 24. -A terrific riot has occurred in the town of Los Angeles. A fight having occurred in the Chinese quarter, Officer BILDERAN attempted to arrest a Chinaman for shooting another, and was resisted. He called upon a citizen, named ROBERT THOMPSON, to assist him, when the Chinese on both sides of a narrow street opened a deadly fire. THOMPSON fell, shot through the breast, and died. BILDERAN was shot through the shoulder, but succeeded in reaching his horse, and escaped. A Mexican boy, named JUAN JOSE MANDEVIS, was shot through the leg. A mob soon collected, and attacked the whole Chinese quarter. The Chinese returned the fire. Five hundred armed men surrounded the Chinese position, and cut them off from escape. Fifteen Chinamen were hanged by the mob, and fire was applied to the houses, but the flames were extinguished. The excitement is very great. At 9 o'clock to-night the authorities had succeeded in partially restoring order. The Chinese numbered about fifty. The mob was determined to clean them out of the City. Before the hanging the mob fired on them from the roofs and other points, killing one woman and several men.

The "Chinese Massacre" of 1871 became national news, as reflected in this New York Times *article. Nineteen Chinese residents were murdered by a mob in a night of violence after a European American man was killed in a quarrel between two Chinese men. Chinese homes and businesses were also looted. Although a number of men were brought to justice, the convictions of all seven Europeans, Americans, and Californios indicted for murdering Chinese residents were overturned by the California supreme court. The Los Angeles District Attorney declined to refile charges.*

"WAR OF RACES," NEW YORK TIMES (OCTOBER 26, 1871)

percent differential in conviction rates betwee these two groups. Based upon the rather striki differences in assault convictions from 1850–6 a differential of 35 percent between Europeans and Americans and Spanish-language surnam one might admit bias, though the results coul be an anomaly, given that in murder cases, ho ever, the differential was almost nil, while in la cẽny cases it was 5.5 percent. Examining the number of cases that reached trial before 186 and seeing that 62 percent of all cases involve Spanish-language surnamed defendants (this figure climbs to 67 percent for cases with dis sitions), one might assume discrimination. Yet, the proportion does shift somewhat markedly t 52 percent of all cases after 1875 involving Europeans and Americans (and 51 percent for tho with dispositions.) Additionally, there is a marke increase of 21 percent for European and Americ conviction rates after 1865, and increases in all three major crime categories. In much of what revealed in the records, a significant contextual issue is the relation of demographics. The pr portion of Europeans and Americans in the ge eral population grew steadily, though slowly, fro 1850 to 1865, and very markedly afterward, so that they constituted a majority after 1870. A co relative rise in the proportion of Europeans and Americans in the jury pool, from an 85 percent majority before 1865 to a 96 percent one afterward, is also noteworthy, especially as convictio rates for defendants in the same grouping rises more than 20 percent and the overall conviction rate differential for the two groupings is only 1.3 percent. Clearly, there is no evidentiary "smokin gun" here—either way—concerning judicially sanctioned racism in the courts, but there is much food for though here to ponder for histori ans of Los Angeles in the first decades of the American era.

The conclusions reached here, even if only sug gestive, raise serious questions about previous interpretations and suggest that the reality of mundane, everyday criminal justice administration is far more complex and nuanced than dramatic and exceptional anecdotal examples, o

which other historians have tended to focus almost exclusively in their research and interpretations. At least one other recent work, done concerning criminal justice in territorial Arizona, comes to similar conclusions as this study.[26]

Careful analyses of such issues as the role of race and ethnicity in a society at greater levels of depth, such as research in criminal court cases, can help reveal the nuances that exist in a stratified social system, as well as the differentiations that often exist between legal institutions, such as criminal justice administrations, and other aspects of society. Obviously, the general conclusions reached in this study are not intended to downplay racism in society generally nor are they to suggest that race played no role in some cases. Rather, they indicate (and they are, at this point, only indicators) that criminal trials, one of those areas of "law and order" that Lawrence Friedman identified as so crucial to the survival of any viable American city in the nineteenth century, was not as flawed or as biased as had previously been suggested. An analysis of post-1875 Los Angeles criminal courts, however, will be an interesting comparative study, especially as the control solidified and exerted by Americans and Europeans over an increasingly diversified society (including numerically much larger Mexican, wider-ranging and increasing Asian and growing African American populations) becomes more manifest.[27]

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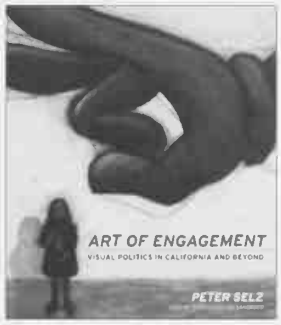

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A CULT OF BEAUTY:

The Public Life and Civic Work of Laura Lyon White

By Cameron Binkley

"A great citizen, a great woman—a rare soul—a friend of her kind."

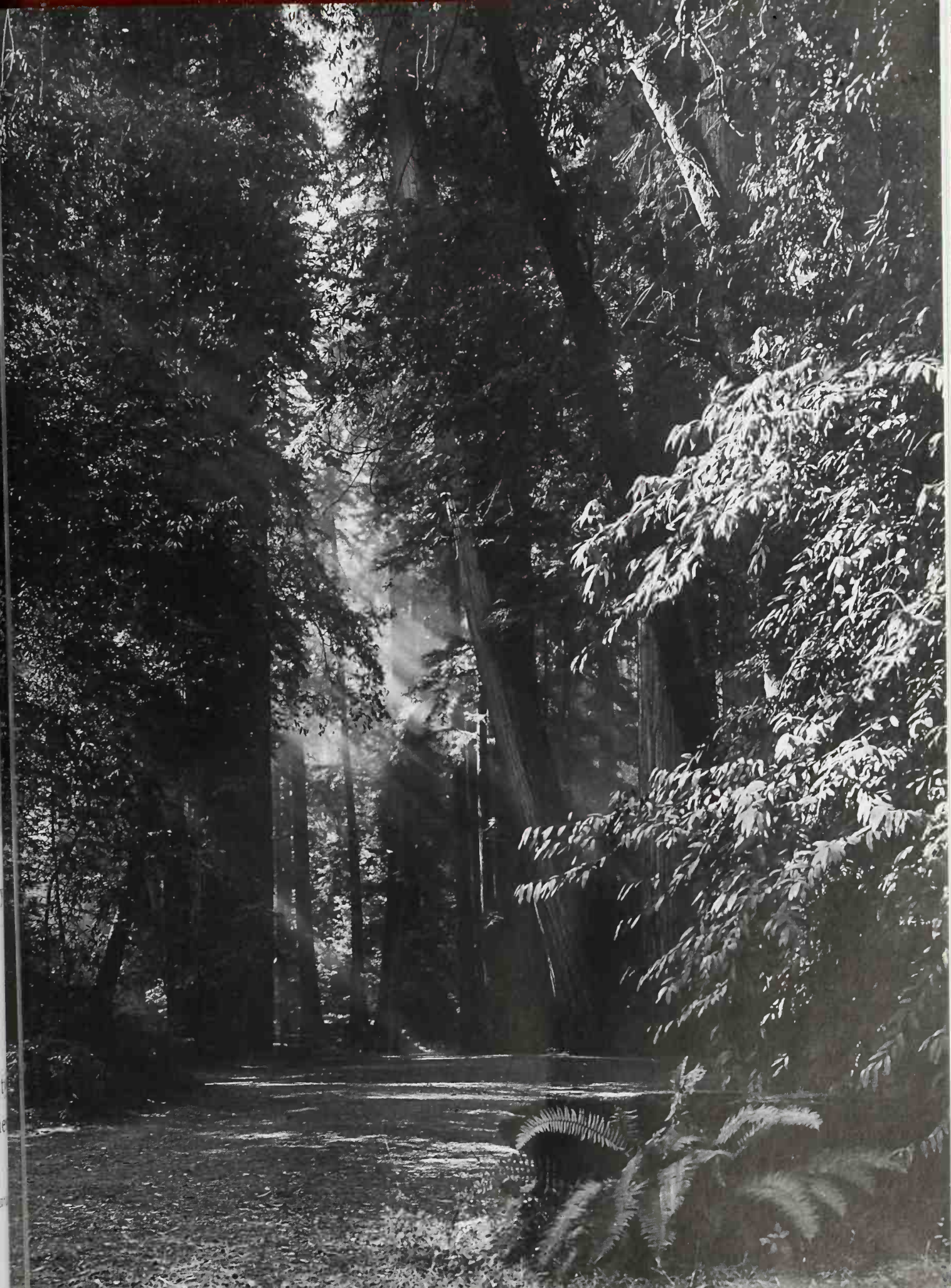
Reverend Caleb S. Dutton, Eulogy

In the North Beach section of San Francisco, at the intersection of Lombard and Mason, sits an old, somewhat overused city park established almost a century ago. The park retains most of its original features: a swimming facility, a children's playground, and a sandy playing field. A minor attraction in a city chock-full of them, North Beach Playground claims at least one distinction: it was the site where Joe DiMaggio learned to play baseball. If that famed gentleman's character was at all influenced by youthful access to a public park, it would not have surprised Laura Lyon White. White led the movement in San Francisco to create municipal parks and playgrounds even as she fought to preserve some of California's most historic and natural landmarks, especially significant stands of old-growth redwood trees. As many Progressives did, White believed these places important to developing a sound body and mind, both for the health of individuals and their community.

Successive scholars have made clear that Progressive-era women were often responsible for the type of civic action that brought real change to public policy, including by leading and organizing campaigns to create or preserve special places.[1] This fact is nowhere more true than in California. Men, of course, have tended to overshadow the accomplishments of women, because women

"Idiots, Criminals and the Insane come and go regularly every few years . . . but the Big Trees—if they go —may never be reproduced on earth. How can we secure these Groves for perpetuity? This is the question tormenting my soul."

Laura White to Governor George Pardee on the Calaveras Big Trees, 1906



achieved their results more quietly. They often worked both in support of and in deference to men's efforts and generally functioned collectively such that the deeds of a single woman, when noticed at all, stood in less contrast to those of male counterparts. Even so, many women are deserving of specific recognition.

Laura White, one of the Brahmins of San Francisco's women's club movement during its golden era, is a case in point. White sought to promote social welfare by organizing women for civic work. She founded several important organizations, most notably the California Club in 1897.

Through these groups, White championed the establishment of a state-wide juvenile justice system, the creation of kindergartens, and the passage of legislation to regulate tenements and prostitution. She strove to better the working conditions of milliners and laundresses and to secure posts for women in hospitals and on school boards. Some of her greatest accomplishments, however, were in the area of conservation and the promotion of civic beauty. She made her name fighting to save famous landmarks, including San Francisco's Telegraph Hill and the Calaveras Big Trees near Yosemite. Indeed, the key to White's personal interest in progressive action was her conviction that nature and beauty, intelligently designed urban space, and outdoor activity could help inoculate against the ills of urban growth a too rapidly industrializing America at the tur of the nineteenth century. Because such "gre problems . . . are so bewildering," White said, "I much rather confine myself to making the wor more beautiful. The creation of a park or play ground does as much good to the world as the study of a difficult problem."[2]

Her comment may now seem quaint, but Whit was a masterful civic leader who understood th gendered politics of her time. As this peek at h life reveals, White employed stereotypic attitud about women to aid social acceptance of her civi activity. She focused on playgrounds and trees because men expected women to care about chi dren and nature. Still, White was a trendsetter, whose youthful frontier experiences, intimat familiarity with the sometimes calamitous consequences of industrialism, and literary reflection helped lead others to question commerce that destroyed beauty. As an organizer, White capitalized on this feminine interest to magnify the effort of men, to heighten her own status, and t help mobilize a generation of California women to become involved in civic work.[3]

THE PIONEER

Laura White was born near French Lick, Indiana on April 12, 1839, the daughter of a prosperous flour mill owner named Jonathan Lyon. Shortly after her birth, the Lyon family moved to Fort Des Moines in Iowa, which still retained a crude stockade for protection from Indian attack. As a youngster on a recently settled frontier, White took advantage of her proximity to the wilderness. Riding bareback and like a man, she at times disappeared into the serenity of the deep woods. She followed her own will and tested authority. Looking back, White saw herself as "a lawless girl," who scraped together stage fare, around the age of fifteen, and "ran away" from home. The intrepid "Miss Lyon" wanted to attend college. This goal was becoming more common among girls of her social class, but her parents initially disagreed. Nevertheless, they relented, as White told it, after she survived on her own

PRECEEDING PAGE: *Women of California's progressive era were often responsible for civic action that led to real change in the state's public policy. Mrs. Lovell (Laura) White (1839–1916) is a case in point. She organized her peers through the women's club movement and championed the establishment of a state-wide juvenile justice system, the creation of kindergartens, and the passage of legislation to regulate tenements and prostitution. Some of her greatest accomplishments, however, were in the area of conservation and the promotion of civic beauty. She made her name fighting to save famous landmarks, including San Francisco's Telegraph Hill and Muir Woods, seen here.*

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

INSET: *Mrs. Lovell (Laura) White*

OUTDOOR ART CLUB

LAURA WHITE AT 15. *Laura Lyon was born near French Lick, Indiana, in 1839 and grew up in Des Moines, Iowa. As a youngster on the recently settled frontier, Laura rode bareback and at times disappeared into the serenity of the deep woods. Looking back, White saw herself as "a lawless girl," who scraped together stage fare, around fifteen, and "ran away" from home hoping to attend college. Her parents eventually allowed her to attend Oberlin College in Ohio. She met her husband Lovell White while on summer break in Des Moines and married him in 1858.*

FROM CHRISTMAS CARD PRINTED BY PAUL ELDER & COMPANY, LOUISE A. SORBIER PAPERS, 1854-1856, MS 2031. CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION

for three months in the Mississippi River town of Burlington, Iowa, by frugally using coins left from her stage fare to buy bread and radishes. Eventually, the Lyons agreed to fund their unruly teenager at Oberlin College in Ohio.[4]

White's early unlady-like behavior helps explain her spirit. She was adventurous, resourceful, resilient, and even cunning. These characteristics, of course, challenged then prevalent social attitudes about female behavior. White understood that reality. She soon chose to make compromises and to channel her youthful vigor to ingratiate herself with peers so to advance her personal aims. White was so successful in this subterfuge that commentators on her later life favorably compared her propriety and poise to European royalty, or, as portrait painter Luis Gruner saw it, White represented "the personification of American womanhood."[5] In other words, the mature White struck contemporaries as the ideal Victorian lady. Although White never lost her wanderlust, the tomboy qualities of her youth, or that rare capacity to wield influence beyond her means, she did domesticate these traits. They served her well in the rough and tumble of California, in her literary endeavors, and as a pioneering women's leader and early conservationist.

More immediately, White applied her talents to the tasks of what was arguably the finest ladies' finishing school in the nation, Oberlin College. Founded in 1833, Oberlin was a progressive institution that admitted women from an early point. The first women to graduate in the United States after completing a collegiate course did so at Oberlin in 1841.

White was enrolled in Oberlin's literature program from 1856 until 1858.[6] Oberlin's literary degree was broad ranging but did not require the study of higher mathematics or classical languages typical of the traditional collegiate degree. White, like many nineteenth-century college students, male or female, did not graduate, and she may not have enrolled with that intent. Merely by attending Oberlin, White attained the select status of being college educated. If grudgingly approved by her parents, this status befitted a successful merchant's daughter, and White quickly became "a belle of Des Moines society." She attended social functions and helped plan celebrations to mark the establishment of Des Moines as the state capital of Iowa.[7]

Oberlin's social environment was as tolerant as its intellectual environment was stimulating. Young women were encouraged to think and to bond together in sororities for that purpose. The first women's literary association in the United States, the Ladies Literary Society, was founded at Oberlin in 1835. White joined its more progressive branch, the Young Ladies Lyceum, in 1857. A participant of its "Literary Exercises," she was exposed to unique opportunities to write and debate, to learn parliamentary procedure, and to speak in public. The association's purpose was to

improve the "intellectual and moral" character of members through "the promotion of Literature and Religion." Certainly, religion and the role of women in religious matters were central themes, as was the abolition movement. While at Oberlin, White drafted a play about children's rights. Her contemporaries always later assumed that it was from Oberlin that she developed her organizational skills and political sensibility.

During a break from Oberlin in the summer of 1857, Laura Lyon met Lovell White and quickly became engaged. White was and would again be a prosperous banker, but shortly after his marriage to Laura in Des Moines in March 1858 a panic forced him into bankruptcy. With little to lose and determined to renew his fortune, Love set his sights on the greener pastures of Californ Whether Laura had any doubts about leaving Oberlin and her family in the Midwest is unre corded, but it was not her overriding concern Throughout her life, Laura White proved to be the quintessential pioneer.

Laura and Lovell White settled in French Corral, California, in 1858 to make their fortune at the still-booming mining camp in the gold country. The effects of hydraulic mining on the landscape, photographed between 1860 and 1870, shocked Laura. The Whites lost their first infants to disease here, and she associated the destruction of the land with the death of her children. She "turned her thoughts to the beautiful parts of the country" for solace.

Society of California Pioneers

The new Mrs. Lovell White was just twenty yea old in the fall of 1859 when she arrived at Frenc Corral, a wild and booming mining camp in th Sierra foothills northeast of Grass Valley. The Whites had only recently reached California via the isthmus of Panama, but were quickly lured by the financial prospects on the state's newest mining frontier. The experience would shape th lives of both, but in dramatically different ways.

French Corral was one of several camps set up along the San Juan Ridge. The area was bypasse by the Forty-Niners because its gold deposits were scattered haphazardly along an ancient rive channel that made conventional mining method ineffective. By the late 1850s, however, advances in metallurgy made it possible to access these deposits through a technique known as hydrauli mining. Hydraulic miners employed streams of pressurized water to dissolve mountains into slush that could then be sifted to separate valuable minerals. The capital-intensive process required the construction of vast networks of ditches, flumes, and metal piping to divert the water necessary to feed the system. Miners could maintain around-the-clock shifts with the light from burning pyres of timber. This activity decimated the surrounding forest as did the timber needed for building flumes and trestles that were miles in length. The mining area itself was turned into a wasteland as millions of tons of debris were dumped downstream, wreaking havoc on farms, ranches, and river traffic.[10] This was the world into which the Whites settled.

At French Corral the Whites set up and for five years successfully operated a general merchandising store to supply the hundreds of miners who deluged the area in the late 1850s. Through this

work Lovell also met investment-banking titan William C. Ralston, founder of the Bank of California and major financier of the Sierra mining industry.[11]

The harsh conditions at French Corral may have contributed to the greatest tragedy of Laura White's life. It was there that she bore her first two children, only to lose them soon after to scarlet fever. As it would be for any mother, the event was life transforming. White may well have associated the death of her children to the deteriorating environmental conditions in which she lived. Certainly, as remembered by her descendants, it was after this period of suffering that White "turned her thoughts to the beautiful parts of the country" in the interest of doing some good.[12] Later, she clearly connected cleanliness, playgrounds and parks, civic planning, and natural beauty as necessary for the creation and maintenance of social and physical health.

White escaped the mining camp in 1864 when Ralston offered her husband a position in his bank in San Francisco. Six years later, at Ralston's urging, Lovell White became the cashier of San Francisco's Savings Union Bank, where he remained as Ralston's "confidential outside man." The position secured the couple's fortune and they eventually named their third and last child in gratitude for Ralston's aid. With rising affluence and free time, she traveled to Hawaii, mingled in royal circles, and even befriended Princess Liliuokalani.[13] By 1870 White had begun to write morality tales and travelogues for the *Overland Monthly* and other journals.

THE WRITER

In her writing White exhibited a concern with the social consequences of industrialism that later inspired much of her organizing activity. For example, in a story entitled "An Episode of River Mining" published in *Overland Monthly*. White adapted first-hand experience with placer mining to frame a tale about the destructive process used to move an entire river out of its bed in a futile search for gold. After imprudently investing their labor and life savings, the miners uncovered nothing and the point was made about the virtues of honest work over the excesses of speculation.[14]

In other commentaries, White had harsh words for those whose approach to nature was too commercial. In one story, she described "the melodious silence of the deep forest, whose Arcadian beauty no man's hand had yet profaned." She then contrasted this depiction to that of a male companion who had "calculated the number of feet of lumber to be gotten out of a giant tree near us" before realizing "the commercial instinct to be unworthy of the spot."[15] The most striking of such comments came in a story about a hiking trip where White imagined the voice of a redwood tree ridiculing a group of men. After one man notes how redwoods were "of this natural scenery when the Pilgrim Fathers landed on Plymouth Rock," the tree suddenly exclaims: "Will they never have done singing the praises of those blood-thirsty wretches, who, with their descendants, have destroyed more than one half of the forests of the country."[16]

In using literature to express opinions about nature, White was following a tradition of nineteenth-century female authors, such as Susan Fenimore Cooper, who took advantage of the fact that while women were discouraged from discussing political or commercial issues, social values tolerated women's discussion of topics tied to femininity, especially beauty and art. White did not attempt to "domesticate" nature as did those female writers who saw motherly characteristics in hedgehogs, bees, and birds. Nor did she emphasize utilitarian conservation. Instead, White wrote to engage in a public discussion of nature that questioned the values of businessmen who destroyed natural beauty without considering its noncommercial worth or who traded in that worth too easily or for the wrong reason.

According to her friend Frona Eunice Wait Colburn, by the late 1870s and early 1880s White had turned her home into "a social center," a type of San Francisco salon where "the brainy set foregathered, and did much to make the brilliant

record achieved by the mining and railroad millionaires." White always supported California's economic development. Nevertheless, she objected to the excesses of industrialism, some of which Lovell White's bank may even have financed. The record is predictably silent on whether the banker's wife understood the irony of her quest to remedy ills caused by men of her husband's rank and class, but as Colburn wrote, "it was while in that many-sided company that Mrs. White began to think out a practical way to better conditions around her."[17]

White gained a public voice through writing, but she probably wrote less to sate a creative impulse than to make an impact. "Every creature of ordinary ambition," she once noted, "desires to stand for something real in the aggregation of human forces." Moreover, a major reason White advocated women's rights was so that women could escape economic dependence on husbands. With work, she said, "we'll no longer have so little to occupy our mentalities that we are driven to bridge and gauze bows on luncheon tables."[18] It seems, however, that writing failed White and she grew frustrated at the slow pace by which male contemporaries took up the "sentimental" defense of beauty and other issues of concern to women. By the time White bore her only surviving child, she had already concluded that women needed a political as well as a literary voice. It was probably not hard for her to see how her husband's associates achieved significant influence by involvement in political and commercial networks and associations. She set out to emulate their methods and to undertake the formidable challenge of public service in a late nineteenth-century world where men largely dominated that enterprise.

To achieve her aims, White drew upon her collegiate and literary training, a pioneer's heritage, and social ties. To some extent, she also exerted influence over the fortune and sympathy of Lovell White. In her late thirties, Laura made an unusual bargain with Lovell, who wanted an heir. Laura was reluctant to have another child for fear that she was too old, that she might lose the child, or because a child would limit her activities. Nevertheless, she submitted on condition that Lovell support her charitable efforts, including granting her thousands of dollars to further such causes. Lovell, a businessman with little recorded interest in civic affairs, agreed. In 1877 Laura gave birth to a son, Ralston, and for the next few years settled into her role as mother, author, socialite, and philanthropist. With Ralston approaching maturity in the early 1890s, Laura White moved to a role on center stage.[19]

THE ORGANIZER

In 1896, White went to work on behalf of the California suffrage campaign. She was among the leaders of the National Women's Suffrage Association in San Francisco, which included the wealthy widow Phoebe Apperson Hearst. These women were inspired by the 1893 victory of suffrage backers in Colorado, who succeeded in obtaining women's enfranchisement in that state. White and other leaders of the group set out to establish political equality clubs in various San Francisco assembly districts, a grassroots lobbying tactic. White herself organized and led the 41st Assembly District Club.[20]

Unfortunately, the proposition was rejected. The failure of the California suffrage campaign apparently demonstrated to White that the best hope for achieving public influence in the near term was not to emphasize women's rights, but women's interests. The women's civic club movement with its concerns for home and motherhood, was a practical alternative. Women who engaged in civic and nonpartisan political work could advance causes related to children, community, art, or nature by espousing women's differences to men, not their equality. This approach reinforced gender stereotypes, but also promoted social approval of suffrage by demonstrating that women could play a responsible role in public affairs.

White did not abandon the goal of voting. Privately she rebuked her antisuffragist friend Colburn who, she said, was "such a broad-minded, sane

sort of person on everything except suffrage, and there you seem to have lost all sense of proportion."[21] Although that remark was disarmed by a teasing "most people are a little off on some subject," White knew that suffrage was divisive and radicalism costly. She pragmatically decided, wrote a reporter, not to support the "shrieking sisterhood" being not "unreasonably the champion of woman." Indeed, he approvingly continued, "for many years an ardent suffragist, she is more in love with beauty than with the ballot."[22] Simply put, White moved on to other issues. As she herself explained, "I was born a suffragist but have not actively identified myself with their [suffrage] organizations, because voting is only a small part of our rights. I've been busy getting women ready for the ballot."[23]

In fulfilling that work, the former 41st Assembly District Club leader held a series of meetings "to crystallize the public spirit which had so gallantly met defeat" in the suffrage campaign. As a result, two days after Christmas in 1897, on a cold, rainy evening, some two dozen women met in Laura White's San Francisco home on Clay Street to form a civic society. Although White favored suffrage, her new organization would not promote that issue. Consciously modeled on the famous Chicago Women's Club, White intended this organization, the California Club, to be a "center of thought and action among women, for the promotion of whatever tends to the best interests of the City and its people." As its first president, White soon obtained a charter membership of five hundred women, which made the club one of the largest women's civic associations in the nation. For its motto, White herself chose a quote from Stanford President David Starr Jordan: "Wisdom is knowing what should be done; virtue is doing it."[24]

White led the California Club onto many paths. With child welfare in mind, she campaigned for the establishment of kindergartens, antitruancy and compulsory schooling legislation, and was especially influential in the development of California's juvenile court system. White sought protections for women by gaining reform in state hospitals for the insane and through antivice legislation. More generally, she campaigned to improve unsavory tenements and workshops and to regulate smoking and public baths. She also tried to interest children and working people in art. In 1901, an interest in songbirds led club members to push for protection of the Meadow Lark from excessive hunting. When the needed bill was signed into state law, it marked the arrival of women as a successful political force in California.[25]

In 1898, the California Club began publicizing its interest in cooperating with others to promote "forestry."[26] White had already cast a disapproving literary eye on the commercial excesses of logging and knew forest practices concerned many women—the national General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC) had taken up the issue in 1896. Foresters preached against logging practices that caused erosion, silted irrigation works, reduced stores of water, and slowed the pace of development. White embraced "the superior value of conservative lumbering" in California because, as she said, "knowledge of the forestry methods now used in the latest eastern schools, will prove of immense benefit to this coast, where an unwise and destructive lumber policy has been but too commonly employed."[27]

The creation of the California Club and its interest in forestry came at a propitious moment. Clara Bradley Burdette, a prominent Los Angeles club woman, was just setting out to organize California's women's clubs into a statewide association. She achieved this aim in January 1900 by working with Laura White to create the California Federation of Women's Clubs (CFWC). Statewide federation greatly enhanced women's social and political influence, but previous efforts had failed to unite California's many scattered clubs due to poor transportation, limited communication, and weak ties between the southern and northern clubs.

To unify the state, Burdette sought to promote issues "which all can endorse."[28] As a woman from the "South Land," however, she needed in-

In 1900 White formed a coalition with Clara Bradley Burdette, a prominent club woman of Los Angeles, and the two women pioneered the California Federation of Women's Clubs. The foundation convention was held in Los Angeles and condemned "men whose souls are gang-saws for turning our world-famous Sequoias into planks and fencing."

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dispensable support in the Bay Area, which Whi and her five hundred-member California Clu provided. White served as vice-president of th founding convention that Burdette hosted in L Angeles. In her keynote address Burdette voice two immediate reasons for federation: to promo children's prosperity and to help women co serve state forests. Burdette even condemned "men whose souls are gang-saws" for turning "our world-famous Sequoias into planks and fencing worth so many dollars." Forests, she said, "have made possible our homes, our healt and our prosperity."[29]

Delegates elected Burdette president of the CFW and White first vice-president, and established two working committees, one for children, one for forestry. Burdette was new to forestry and, un like White, did not continue to champion the cause after leading the CFWC. It thus seems tha White encouraged Burdette to see how conserva tion, like children's issues, mobilized women's en thusiasm. Both leaders sought to tap that powe

DEFENDER OF THE BIG TREES

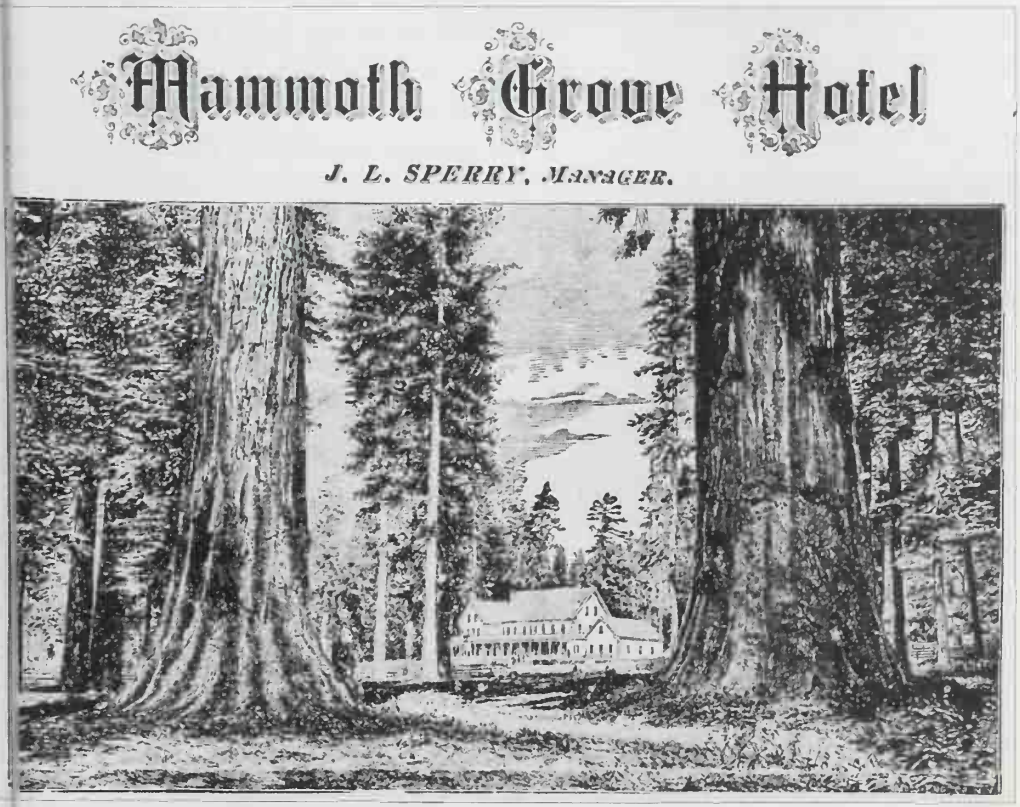
Just days before the founding convention of the CFWC, a crisis began to develop in the woods near Yosemite. The issue engulfed the attention of Laura White. On January 12, 1900, the story broke that Robert P. Whiteside, a lumberman from Minnesota, had purchased an option, whic he soon exercised, to buy the Calaveras "Big Trees." This stand of ancient redwoods included the Mammoth Grove Hotel and thousands of acres of nearby forest land. The trees, in private own ership for five decades, were famous as a resort where guests could rest in comfort at one of the largest hotels in California.

The San Joaquin Valley Commercial Association representing a twelve-county area, quickly asked Congress to establish a Calaveras Big Trees national park to save the well-known tourist attrac tion. On January 22, Stanford's David Starr Jordan lent his support to the cause.[30]

White was the next to act. She inaugurated a national campaign to entice Congress to purchase the Big Trees and preserve them as a public park. White sent resolutions to numerous state and national organizations and government bodies requesting congressional action. California Club members collected thousands of signatures, launched a letter-writing campaign, and White asked club vice-president Mrs. A. D. Sharon, who was then in Washington, D.C., to meet with California's representatives. That done, Sharon even met President William McKinley.[31]

A joint-resolution, sponsored by California's Senator George C. Perkins and Representative Marion de Vries (in whose district the trees were located) was introduced in Congress on February 12. The bill authorized negotiation to buy the two groves that made up the Big Trees. It passed both houses and was signed by President McKinley on March 8, 1900. After signing the bill, McKinley voiced his admiration for the women's legislative feat.[32]

Whiteside, unfortunately, would only sell the groves for many times what he had paid. Although he later claimed the trees to be an "inheritance" for his children, the lumberman was hoping to sell them for a prince's ransom as park land rather than for their market value in timber. The California Club urged condemnation and pushed for a new bill, which passed the senate, but was blocked in the house by two Republican house speakers, David B. Henderson and especially Joseph G. "Uncle Joe" Cannon, both of whom stubbornly insisted that California was wealthy enough to buy its own trees. Thus, the Calaveras groves could not be set aside as a park. White made a forlorn appeal to her friend and fellow club woman Phoebe Hearst for financial assis-



In January 1900, Robert P. Whiteside bought the Calaveras "Big Trees," a stand of ancient redwoods that included the Mammoth Grove Hotel and thousands of acres of nearby forest land. He planned to log them. White's fight to keep him from doing so led to the passage of congressional legislation, the support of two presidents, and Whiteside's own admiration of the woman he often referred to as "Mrs. Lovely White."

California Historical Society

tance, but admitted that "no one club nor even the State Federation of Women's Clubs could undertake to raise by subscription such a large sum" as demanded by Whiteside.[33]

In 1904, after consulting with Senator Perkins, White launched a huge petition drive to inspire Congress to purchase the Big Trees. Capitalizing on the strength of the national women's club movement, she registered more than 1,400,000 names on a petition delivered to President Theodore Roosevelt. Upon receipt, Roosevelt forwarded the petition to Congress with his own plea: "The Calaveras Big Tree Groves are not only a Californian but a National inheritance and all that can be done by the Government to insure its [sic] preservation should be done." White reported that "this is the first instance on record where a special message has been sent to Congress at the request of an organization managed by women." Whiteside, however, remained intransigent and Congress would not force the issue.[34] Frustrated, White expressed her feelings to Governor George Pardee: "Idiots, Criminals and the Insane come and go regularly every few years . . . but the Big Trees—if they go—may never be reproduced on earth. How can we secure these Groves for perpetuity? This is the question tormenting my soul."[35] New tactics were needed.

In December 1907, White asked Senator Perkins to submit a bill to Congress empowering the government to exchange portions of land held in federal forest reserves for the Calaveras Big Trees.[36] Perkins acted upon this request but the legislation remained blocked by the tendentious Uncle Joe. Renowned as "a woman of great charm," White led a women's delegation to Washington to lobby public officials and break the impasse. On February 13, 1909, after three months of patient lobbying, she succeeded in inducing the speaker to permit the legislation to reach the floor, where it was quickly approved and signed into law by President Roosevelt on February 19. White was "both reticent and modest" about her success but her influence kept the Calaveras issue in Congress for years. For this persistenc and a sense of fair play, even Whiteside grew t admire "Mrs. Lovely White," as he dubbed her

White continued to lobby for the Calaveras tre returning to Washington as late as 1913.[38] Whi side still refused to sell, but he did not cut the groves. In the meantime, club women becam more prominent in conservation. In 1908, GFWC president Sarah Platt Decker attended the White House Governor's Conference on Co servation. Some male conservationists, notably the legendary John Muir, were not invited by th conference organizer, Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot, who was deliberately trying to exclude "preservationists" from the "conservation" ager da.[39] Decker was invited because the GFWC ha clout and an approach to conservation that was less threatening than the Sierra Club's. Pinchot curried club women's support and praised thei contributions to conservation in his memoirs. In December 1908, Governor James N. Gillet appointed White to attend a follow-up to the Pinchot Conference.[40]

White did not live to see permanent protection secured for the Big Trees. The North Grove be came a state park in 1931 after the Depression forced Whiteside's family to sell out. Fittingly, the 1909 law promoted by White proved the leg basis for the initiation of renewed efforts to sav the remaining trees in 1949. Final protection fo the South Grove, however, was not achieved unti 1954 after a crucial donation was made by John D. Rockefeller, Jr.[41] Although her work was unfin ished, White's campaigns to convince Congress to protect the trees focused public attention, cre ated a framework to help guide future preserva tion efforts, and, perhaps inadvertently, convince Whiteside to risk holding the trees as a long-term investment.

John Muir was amazed by White's success with the Calaveras trees because he had failed to interest the state legislature in their purchase in 1877.[42] In part, White's success was because the relationship between forest cover, erosion, and water supplies was better understood in 1900.

The Big Trees had also gained status and had already become a sort of public park. Most important, the scale of interest groups organized for civic action, especially women's clubs, had greatly increased, and, of course, Laura White had chosen the Big Trees as a *cause célèbre*.

CRUSADER FOR THE CITY BEAUTIFUL

In 1902 White retired both as the founding president of the California Club and as first vice-president of the CFWC. Predictably, she was nominated to replace Clara Burdette as CFWC president at a conference held that year. Unfortunately, conference delegates had to debate whether the CFWC should support the admission of colored clubs into the national GFWC. When these delegates failed to support that initiative, White withdrew her name as a candidate for the presidency.[43] White was poised to succeed Burdette, but she had attended Oberlin, where abolition was a routine topic, and had promoted both suffrage and children's rights. Later, she clearly stated that "nature has set no permanent nor eternal stamp of superiority on any race or sex."[44] Regardless of the reason, White was suddenly out of work and no longer in charge of a major woman's civic club. The situation was short lived.

Almost immediately, White sought to deepen her activism on projects that appealed to her personally. She continued her Calaveras efforts, and took on new projects, including in 1903 the assumption of a three-year term as president of the Sempervirens Club. The Sempervirens Club, a loose association of park enthusiasts, had recently succeeded in creating a state park to preserve the redwoods of Big Basin in the Santa Cruz Mountains. Under White's management, the club was competently reorganized into a fixed institution whose goal was to oversee the long-term preservation of Big Basin. White, however, was not comfortable with this narrow work. As she admitted, "to reorganize a Club whose fire of enthusiasm has already been spent in the pursuit and attainment of its earlier object is not the task which it is supposed to be."[45]

For White, parks and nature were not set apart from urban concerns. White was also passionately interested in municipal beautification, which was not the work of the Sempervirens Club. Indeed, White immersed herself in the City Beautiful movement, which reached its peak in the first years of the twentieth century. According to William H. Wilson, the City Beautiful move-

During the summer of 1902, White organized two new women's groups. The first, in San Francisco, was known as the Outdoor Art League, it affiliated with the major promoter of the City Beautiful movement—the American Park and Outdoor Art Association, a national group that later folded into the American Civic Association. The second, in Mill Valley, was called the Outdoor Art Club. Its members are shown here c. 1910, with Laura White, fifth from left and holding a fan.

OUTDOOR ART CLUB

"In the construction of all cities of whatever character the essentials must ever remain the same. Proportion, space, color, cleanliness—these are the fundamentals of the City Beautiful."

A depiction of the Outdoor Art Club house in Mill Valley, California, as envisioned by its designer, Bernard Maybeck, 1904.
OUTDOOR ART CLUB

ment was driven by an ethos of "middle-class environmentalism, and aesthetics expressed as beauty, order, system, and harmony."[46] Growing beyond the tradition of Frederick Law Olmsted, City Beautiful enthusiasts promoted the creation of monumental public structures and parklike boulevards, the adoption of neoclassic and naturalistic designs in civic architecture, and the use of modern methods of urban planning and sanitary engineering. Rarely credited, female adherents were especially active in planting trees and flowers; promoting parks and playgrounds; clearing up garbage; regulating utility poles, billboards and nuisance industries; and promoting zoning restrictions. This work combined women's interests in nature, art, health, and society. White involved herself in all of these activities and emerged as a major popularizer of the City Beautiful in San Francisco.[47] She stands beneath the shadow of Phoebe Hearst, one of the movement's great patrons, only for want of a similar fortune.

Although a city's "character is foreordained" by topography, White said, nevertheless "in the construction of all cities of whatever character the essentials must ever remain the same. Proportion, space, color, cleanliness—these are the fundamentals of the City Beautiful."[48] For White, artistry or "outdoor art" was key to civic planning and urban design. She had seen directly how environment shaped the human condition and believed that urban dwellers required beauty and nature to remain healthy. Moreover, as she said, "out door art is democratic and belongs to the people. When through education it finds a permanent home in our midst, civilization will have advanced another step out of the darkness of chaos."[49] White's pursuit of the City Beautiful had the deliberate purpose of social uplift not exclusive to class, race, or gender.

Beyond beauty and health, parks and playgrounds factored strongly into White's view of the City Beautiful probably because the team play they enabled helped to socialize children, instilling in them civic and patriotic virtues while serving as an alternative to such "illicit" entertainments as

drinking and dancing.[50] In 1898, soon after founding the California Club, White orchestrated the construction of a children's playground at Bush and Hyde streets in San Francisco. The club managed the playground for three years before convincing the city to assume its responsibility. By then, White had also convinced San Francisco's board of supervisors to authorize and create a genuine municipal playground located at Seventh and Harrison streets.[51]

In 1905, the California Club succeeded in pressing the board of supervisors to hold a bond election to raise needed funds to purchase and maintain additional playgrounds. The San Francisco earthquake and subsequent fire of 1906 may have inadvertently facilitated this project by making numerous burned-over lots available for potential development. At any rate, in November 1907, the club convinced the city to pass a charter amendment authorizing the mayor to create a municipal playground commission. As a result, the California Club presided over the creation of the North Beach and the South of Market playgrounds. White had also pushed hard to get at least two women among the playground commission's seven board members. She achieved this aim and was herself appointed by Mayor Edward Taylor to the commission in 1908. In 1911, the playground commission's members elected White to be president of the commission.[52]

During the summer of 1902, White organized two new women's groups, both of whom shared

"The beautiful rests on the foundations of the necessary"—*Emerson*

Outdoor Art League
OF THE
California Club
MRS. GEO. T. MARSH, Chairman
1750 Clay Street

San Francisco, September , 1912

To the Honorable
The Board of Supervisors of the
City and County of San Francisco.

Gentlemen:

The undersigned citizens and taxpayers of San Francisco petition your Honorable Board to submit to the voters of this city the proposition to acquire at the next Bond Election certain lands on Telegraph Hill, to be used for park purposes.

Telegraph Hill is a landmark of historic value and should be preserved and beautified, thus serving as an attractive feature for the Exposition in 1915.

We respectfully urge your Honorable Board to give due consideration to this request, that the wishes of the people regarding the disposal of Telegraph Hill may be ascertained through a Bond Election.

MRS. LOVELL WHITE,
Chairman Telegraph Hill Committee.

WE APPROVE THE ABOVE PETITION:

Name of President _____

Name of Association _____

Number of Members _____

PLEASE FILL IN AND SEND TO 1750 CLAY ST. AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

Laura White sought to prevent the demise of San Francisco's Telegraph Hill, which was being quarried by the Gray Brothers Company. Telegraph Hill was originally used as a lookout to alert dock workers of approaching ship traffic. In 1876, a group of businessmen, including George Hearst, bought two acres on the summit and donated it to the city stipulating that the site be known as Pioneer Park. "Telegraph Hill," White said, "is a landmark of historic value and should be preserved and beautified." White lobbied at every municipal election. She brought two bond measures to vote (1903 and 1909) and succeeded in obtaining a temporary injunction to prevent the blasting, which Gray Brothers subsequently violated. On August 9, 1912, Judge Frank J. Murasky made the injunction permanent and recommended that the land be acquired as a park.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

"Out door art is democratic and belongs to the people. When through education it finds a permanent home in our midst, civilization will have advanced another step out of the darkness of chaos."

degrees of interest in the City Beautiful. The first group was drawn from the California Club and chose White as president. Known as the Outdoor Art League, it affiliated with the major promoter of the City Beautiful movement—the American Park and Outdoor Art Association, a national group that later folded into the American Civic Association. White's purpose was "the artistic development of parks, gardens, streets, and of all objects which go to the construction and embellishments of cities and towns." The club's motto was taken from Ralph Waldo Emerson: "The beautiful rests upon the foundation of the necessary." In line with White's interest in trees, however, the league also stepped beyond the urban boundary by promoting the creation of natural parks and forest reserves. More broadly, the league backed "all work relating to the artistic and industrial development of California." These views reflected White's progressive idealism—the promotion of growth, but not growth carried out willy-nilly by laissez-faire capitalism. Instead, like all City Beautiful proponents, White sought a prosperous San Francisco whose growth was consciously directed by sound urban planning and informed citizen input.[53]

Meanwhile, the Whites had taken to spending their summers in Mill Valley. The small Marin County town was beginning to develop urban problems because of its proximity to San Francisco. Tourists were destroying local vegetation while various logging, railroad, and water company operations around Mount Tamalpais threatened the area's prized redwoods. A group of Mill Valley women, aware of Laura White's prominence as a civic and conservation leade sought her help.[54] In May 1902, she gathered them at her country home on a ridge overlookin the Mill Valley township. White was not an antagonist to growth, but what she saw was not in line with the City Beautiful. "We must do some thing to save the beauty of Mill Valley," she said while proceeding to organize the Outdoor Ar Club, whose avowed goal was "to preserve the natural scenery of Mill Valley . . . to beautify the ground around public buildings . . . and in al other directions to encourage the development of Outdoor Art." In 1904, the Outdoor Art Club graced the development of Mill Valley by building a Bernard Maybeck-designed clubhouse nea the center of town. To this day, the Arts and Crafts style structure dramatically evokes the City Beautiful. White and her cohorts sought to preserve Mill Valley's rural charm while beautifying the town itself. Perhaps nostalgia was also a goal. A one member recalled years later, "we fought every improvement, even streetlights, to keep Mill Valley the way it was."[55]

In San Francisco, infused by White's "cult of beauty," as a male reporter wrote, the Outdoor Art League championed a number of worthy causes.[56] It set to work defending the use of Spanish place names, seeking utility pole regulation, and lobbying for street work and better sewerage. Early on, White wrote about how the league was "helping the children to a personal love for the beautiful through the planting of gardens and window boxes." She hoped that "attractive school yards will naturally lead to school buildings not only more satisfactory architecturally but more fully equipped for the needs of the student, both mental and physical."[57] Three years later, White's work in the California Club and the Outdoor Art League were so similar that she engineered a merger of the two groups. After voting in favor, the Outdoor Art League was simply absorbed by the California Club as a ready-made department under the same name.[58]

Two important efforts in which White's influence prevailed should be mentioned. The first project

involved White's campaign to save San Francisco's historic Telegraph Hill. Telegraph Hill was originally used as a lookout to alert early dock workers of approaching ship traffic. In 1876, a group of businessmen, including George Hearst (husband of Phoebe Hearst), bought two acres on the summit and donated it to the city stipulating that the site be known as Pioneer Park. By the century's end, however, George and Harry Gray of the Gray Brothers Company had erected a major industrial operation at the foot of the hill. From its side they extracted rock for their stone-crushing plants using explosives and heavy machinery. In the process Gray Brothers was systematically leveling the hill, causing a great deal of local consternation, especially after this work caused several houses to slide onto Sansome Street. White sought to prevent the hill's demise by convincing local officials to designate the area as a park. "Telegraph Hill," she said, "is a landmark of historic value and should be preserved and beautified."[59] White lobbied at every municipal election. She brought two bond measures to vote (1903 and 1909) and succeeded in obtaining a temporary injunction to prevent the blasting, which Gray Brothers subsequently violated.[60] On August 9, 1912, Judge Frank J. Murasky made the injunction permanent and recommended that the land be acquired as a park.[61]

With this success, White once again pressured the board of supervisors "to submit to the voters of this city the proposition to acquire . . . certain lands on Telegraph Hill, to be used for park purposes." As first vice-president and organizer of the woman's board of the upcoming Panama-Pacific International Exposition, she duly noted how such a park could be "an attractive feature for the Exposition in 1915."[62] White also solicited aid from Phoebe Hearst, whose husband had helped create Pioneer Park, and suggested how "an observatory on Telegraph Hill would be a wonderful beginning" to create an exposition attraction. "Some other Pioneer might add a Historic Museum," she went on, "then another an Aquarium—then tea gardens [sic] etc. Some one would build a car line to the crest of the hill,

William Kent, a maverick political reformer from Chicago, heralded his entry into California politics by supporting the creation of a major public park near San Francisco. Looking for an opportunity, he met with Lovell White, who asked him to save the trees of Redwood Canyon. Kent did so and donated the land to the federal government, which President Roosevelt proclaimed as Muir Woods National Monument in 1908. Kent was elected to Congress in 1910.

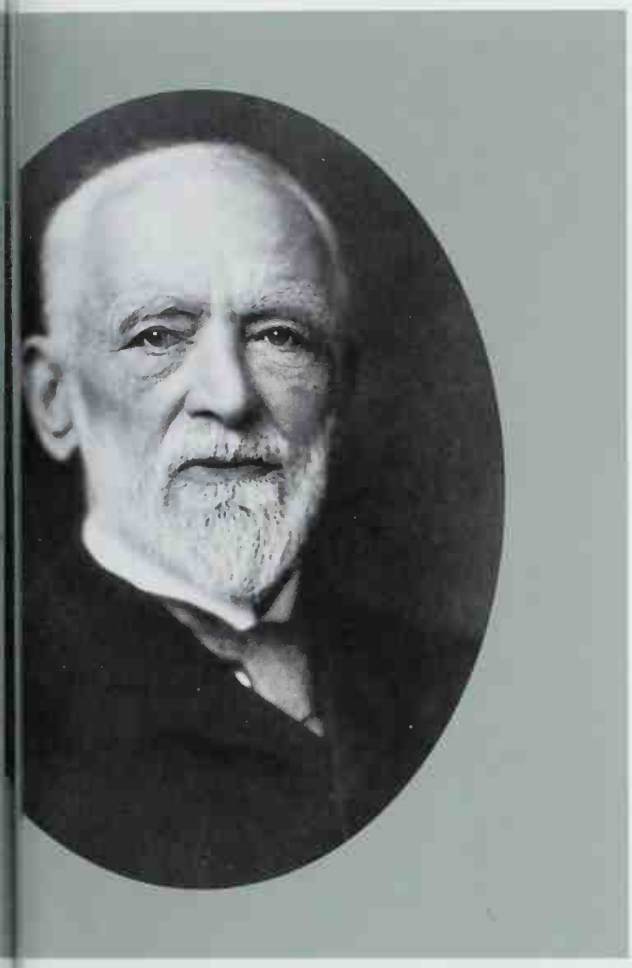
Mill Valley Historical Society

LAURA AND LOVELL WHITE *The intertwined civic and commercial interests of Laura and Lovell White complemented one another. Laura White used class and affluence to protect nature and the utility of beauty. Although her own status was raised through civic work, White genuinely believed in the benefits of conservation for individual character and social health. Nonetheless, pragmatism was a hallmark of her life; White would not compromise her own convictions, but she also realized what was not within her power or time to confront.*
MILL VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

and we would easily have the most beautiful spot in the world."[63] Neither Hearst nor the board took up her plea, but in 1929 Lillie Hitchcock Coit willed funds for the beautification of San Francisco, which the city finally used to erect the now famous Coit Tower on Telegraph Hill, a definite tribute to White's City Beautiful idea.[64]

The second effort was a campaign organized by the California Club in November 1904. According to Mrs. Emil Pohli, a protégé of Laura White and chair of the club's forestry section, it was a campaign "in which sentiment and love of nature should have a practical battle with rough commercialism." The club sought to unite some twenty-five men's and women's groups to protect a stand of coastal redwoods from logging in Marin County.[65] The trees were located in Redwood Canyon on the southern shoulder of Mount Tamalpais, property mortgaged to the San Francisco Savings Union—Lovell White's bank! After foreclosing on this holding, White sold off most of it to dairy operators, but reserved the canyon as a watershed.[66] Then, late in 1904, a lumber company made an offer to buy the watershed to harvest the stand of redwoods.

Even had he wanted, White could not easily sell the trees for logging. Laura White was fighting to preserve the Big Trees, was president of the Sempervirens Club, and had founded two clubs devoted to conservation. Sympathetic to his wife's interests, perhaps obligated by the old bargain he had made with Laura to have a son, but facing stockholder pressure, Lovell White announced that Redwood Canyon could be purchased as park land for a sum below its appraised value as



timberland.[67] The California Club then launched its park campaign. The Whites needed a buyer who would preserve the forest of Redwood Canyon. Remarkably, one was at hand.

William Kent, a maverick political reformer from Chicago, was a frequent visitor to his family's estate in Marin County. Kent supported efforts to create local parks to protect the area's aesthetic character and to increase tourism.[68] By 1904 Kent was also beginning to plan his entry into California politics and realized that he could promote that interest by supporting the creation of a major public park near San Francisco. Moreover, like White, he understood that slums were more a factor of poor municipal planning than poor tenants, that open space and fresh air were municipal requirements, and that private capital would not supply such needs.[69]

One day in 1905, not long after the California Club had begun its Redwood Canyon campaign, Kent walked into the San Francisco Savings Union to meet Lovell White. White expressed his desire to save the trees of Redwood Canyon, explained that he could not do it himself, and asked Kent to buy the forest. He also stated that if Kent did not do so, the forest would probably be sold to a firm that would log the trees. After mulling the matter over, Kent visited the property and found "the beauty of the place attracted me, and got on my mind, and I could not forget the situation." Hence, he "requested . . . the lowest possible price from Mr. White, it being understood that the purchase was for preservation, and not for exploitation."[70] Accordingly, White lowered the price by more than half. His shareholders would get a return, the watershed would be safeguarded, and he avoided any hint of spousal discord. Kent told his own wife, concerned about their finances, that saving the woods was a worthwhile risk. So, he bought the canyon.[71]

In 1907, to protect Redwood Canyon more fully, Kent donated the land to the federal government using provisions of the 1906 Antiquities Act. On January 9, 1908, President Roosevelt proclaimed Kent's gift a national monument. Kent insisted that the monument be named for John Muir and so Redwood Canyon became Muir Woods. On January 19, 1908, Laura White hosted an Outdoor Art League reception to honor Kent "in recognition of his service to California in presenting to the Federal Government the Sequoia forest of Marin County."[72] The Muir Woods donation helped make Kent famous in California and he was elected to Congress in 1910. To some extent, Kent owed these victories to the club women who had helped move park issues to the forefront of politics. Of course, the intertwined civic and commercial interests of Laura and Lovell White also played a role.

ELDER STATESWOMAN

In her last years, Laura White remained focused upon conservation and beauty. In 1913, as chair of the GFWC's Forestry Committee, White spoke

ABOVE: *The Panama-Pacific International Exposition, which celebrated the opening of the Panama Canal, was a grand opportunity to promote the City Beautiful ethic so close to White's heart.*

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FACING PAGE: *San Francisco's North Beach Playground, ca. 1910. Founded by the California Club in 1907, it is the site where Joe DiMaggio first learn to play ball.*

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

before the Playground Association of America. Her speech, entitled "Children's Playground in National Forest," discussed a tract set aside for children in the Angeles National Forest, an idea she probably thought perfectly combined motherhood, nature, beauty, and healthy recreation. White also served as state president of the Women's National Rivers and Harbors Congress.[73] Unfortunately, not all conservationists could as neatly balance the needs of beauty and progress. White also found herself again leading the California Club, which had had a bruising encounter with the great Hetch-Hetchy debate.

After the 1906 earthquake San Francisco drove hard to achieve congressional approval to allow it to dam the Hetch-Hetchy Canyon in Yosemite National Park. The city was backed by many who hoped to secure a supply of clean inexpensive water under municipal control. The effort was also intended to break the corrosive stranglehold of the hated Spring Valley Water Company on city politics. Conservationists thus had to choose between the desire to clean up politics and the desire to preserve a protected area. This conundrum split their ranks and ended the friendship

between Muir and Kent, who became a major backer of the city's position after his election to Congress. The debate also divided nature lovers within the women's club movement: most clubs outside San Francisco sided with Muir while most clubs in the city supported Kent. Laura White was against the proposal.[74] But Kent and Muir were both allies to her in the Calaveras fight. Hence, she failed to commit to either side and steered to avoid the rancorous conflict.

Unfortunately, White was not president of the California Club in 1909 when the CFWC resolved "against the invasion of this grand landscape garden . . . for commercial purposes."[75] In response, California Club President Mrs. E. W. Baldwin led a high profile defense of San Francisco's right to develop Hetch-Hetchy. She focused her criticism on the issue, as she saw it, that most concerned women, the beauty of the valley. "The water scheme development will mean simply the difference between a meadow and a lake," she stated. "It will simply be a mirror to reflect the beauty and not one fall will be injured, save one twenty feet high.[76]

Despite Baldwin's gender-appropriate campaign supporting the dam, she involved the California Club in an acrimonious national political debate. The divisiveness was unsettling to many club members, some of whom pleaded with White to run for re-election when Baldwin's term expired. Reluctant to run, White was overwhelmingly re-elected in 1910. Baldwin challenged White to continue "to enlighten" the public about "the genuine merits of the water situation," but White took the club on to other issues and buried the Hetch-Hetchy debate. Thereafter, she remained the club's president emeritus, a unique honor among club women.[77]

While again leading the California Club, White's major achievement was to organize the women's role in the campaign to secure San Francisco, instead of New Orleans, as the location for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915. The exposition celebrated the opening of the Panama Canal but was largely an opportunity t promote the City Beautiful ethic that was so clo to White's heart. She garnered active suppor from the most prominent women, includin Phoebe Hearst, and traveled to Washington t lobby for the exposition (and for the Calaveras B Trees) along with the state's most prominent men.[78] Once San Francisco was selected to host the exposition, White created its Woman's Boa and was no doubt responsible for securing Hear as Honorary President. The Woman's Board w the last civic body White would found. While working an exhausting schedule during the e position itself, she suddenly took ill and died o January 18, 1916. She was 76 years old.[79]

At her death, Laura White stood as a towering figure among California's women. Her demise was widely reported and lamented. White suc ceeded in becoming a political force despite the denial of suffrage and other rights because she wa willing to abide by the social norms of her time while nevertheless using those norms to further her own aims. Ethics stemming from conserva- tion and the City Beautiful nicely fit this schem Men were more willing to listen to a woman wh spoke in support of urban and natural beauty, who worked to improve the welfare of children and mothers, and who was not overly strident White skillfully used women's interest in these areas to obtain public authority and influence o political, commercial, and reform issues and subtly to promote suffrage. Colburn, who oppose suffrage and derided White's faith in women's potential, could not but admit that "Mrs. White stood closest to the boundary line which divides a woman's and a man's world. She, at least, had a glimpse of realities as men know them." Among her many accomplishments, White left a lasting legacy in the redwoods and landmarks for which she sought protection, in the civic groups that she founded, in the parks and playgrounds that she nurtured, and in the inspiration that succeeding generations of Californians have derived from all of her "outdoor art."

FTERWORD

In his classic work, *John Muir and the American Conservation Movement*, Stephen Fox wrote about how conservation began as an elite hobby whose first adherents reflected class concerns typical of the period. Their interest in corrupt politics and civic reform sprang from moralistic, evangelical, and even nativistic sources. Still, amateurs were the first to set off alarms about the destruction of the wilderness. This they did, he argued, not for professional or economic interests, but because they loved unspoiled nature. Bowing to the era's strictly utilitarian philosophy, early conservationists couched their arguments in practical terms, such as protecting forests for their role in regulating rainfall and preventing erosion. Even Muir followed this strategy though he was more motivated by the evil of men destroying God's beauty.[80]

Laura White was a figure of similar cut. She used class and affluence to promote personal convictions about the protection of nature and the utility of beauty. Although her own status was raised through civic work, White genuinely believed in the benefits of conservation for individual character and social health. Moreover, because she did not draw a sharp line between natural and urban beauty, unlike Muir, she could bring nature to where people lived and could promote the benefits of rational development while still resisting the excesses of technological change. Such pragmatism was a hallmark of her life even when making fundamental moral choices as with suffrage or when giving up the CFWC presidency to oppose its support for discrimination. White would not compromise her own convictions, but she also realized what was not within her power or time to confront. Poignantly, she failed to condemn Baldwin for positioning the California Club between the defense of Yosemite and the growth of San Francisco. Although her stance was a painful necessity, White was probably not surprised by the turn of events. Even before Hetch-Hetchy she must have known, and later said, that men and women are "made of the same clay" and that women must "choose between political good and political evil just as men do."[81] Certainly, White knew that gender was no shield from the dilemmas of politics.

In the end, Laura White stands as a definitive example of a late nineteenth-century female writer and nature-lover turned civic leader. She was a progressive amateur of the upper class, but not a radical, being wed to the notion of separate spheres and gendered responsibilities. Still, as a tireless worker for the causes of women, children, and community, White sought and promoted the benefits of nature and art for all Californians, and did much to advance the influence and responsibility of women in public life through her deeply felt commitment to the interwoven causes of progress, conservation, and beauty.

Cameron Binkley is a research historian for the National Park Service with the Southeast Regional Office in Atlanta, Georgia. The views expressed in this essay, however, do not necessarily reflect those of the Service. He is a graduate of San Francisco State University's master's program in American History where his thesis focused upon the role of women in early conservation. The author would like to thank the many who aided his work, in particular the Outdoor Art Club of Mill Valley, California, whose members carry forward in the civic tradition of their founder, Laura Lyon White.

NOTES

EVERYONE HAD CAMERAS: PHOTOGRAPHERS, PHOTOGRAPHY, AND THE FARMWORKER EXPERIENCE IN CALIFORNIA, 1850 TO THE PRESENT, PP 8-25

[1]Quote from Anthony Lloyd, *My War Gone By, I Miss It So* (New York, 2000), 3. See also, Richard Steven Street, "Photographing César's Last Fast: A Personal Essay," and Street, "The Last Time I Saw César," in Leroy Chatfield, ed., *National Farmworker Documentation Project* (Sacramento, 2004); Street, "Framing Farm Workers Through a Historian's Lens," *Chronicle of Higher Education* (June 7, 2002), B13-15; Street, Interview with Joe Munroe, Feb.13, 1995, Orinda, California, author's possession; Joe Munroe, *Changing Faces On Our Land* (Des Moines, 1990), 172-173; Grant Cannon, "Farm Labor Organizes," *Farm Quarterly* 16 (Spring 1961), 60-64, 160, publishing Munroe's photo essay on the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee.

[2]Quote from Gordon Parks, "This Rare Collection," in *Life, 100 Photographs That Changed the World* (New York, 1997), 7.

[3]Susan D. Moeller, *Compassion Fatigue: How the Media Sell Disease, Famine, War and Death* (New York, 1999), 2, 9-10.

ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS: ETHNICITY AND LOS ANGELES COURTS, 1850-1875, PP 26-39

[1]Lawrence W. Friedman, *A History of American Law* (second ed., New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985), 370.

[2]Friedman, *A History of American Law*, 287. While there have been a number of studies done on criminal justice issues in nineteenth-century American cities much larger than Los Angeles, there have been very few done on towns its size.

[3]In addition to the works cited below, there are several others of interest covering the period discussed in this study, including: David J. Weber, ed., *Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973) ; part II of Manuel G. and Cynthia M. Gonzales, eds. *En Aquel Entonces: Readings in Mexican-American History* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000); Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Ribera, *Mexican Americans/American Mexicans: From Conquistadors to Chicanos* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1996); Robert F. Heizer and Alan F. Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination Under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley and Los Angeles; University of California Press, 1971); Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991 [1939, 1973]); Tomas Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994); Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996); William A. McClung, *Landscapes of Desire: Anglo Mythologies of Los Angeles* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 2000); and Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995). There are other works that deal mainly with later periods, but are interesting for their examination of ethnic relations in the years following those discussed here and include Edward J. Escobar, *Race, Police, and the Making of a Political Identity: Mexican Americans and the Los Angeles Police Department* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999); Douglas Monroy, *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999); and Douglas Flamming, *Bound for Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005).

[4]Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 148-166.

[5]Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 107-108.

[6]It should also be noted that an apportionment system was put into place after 1863, so that townships contributed members to jury rolls on the basis of proportion to county population and so that there was one juror selected for every two hundred county residents.

[7]Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: A Social History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 105, 117-119.

[8]Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 208, 211.

[9]William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), 11-25.

[10]The author's analysis of all enumerated 1860 and 1870 census returns shows that Spanish-surnamed residents constituted a little under 52 percent of the county's population in 1860 (and the same percentage in the city of Los Angeles) with Americans and Europeans amounting to just under 30 percent (and 36 percent in Los Angeles). Ten years later, the percentages were 43 percent and 53 percent in the county and 43 percent and 50 percent in the city. Notably, the Indian population had dramatically fallen from over 2,000 (about 18 percent of the populace) to only 215 (1.4 percent.)

[11]The 1875 estimate is from Ludwig Louis Salvator, *Los Angeles in the Sunny Seventies. A Flower from the Golden Land*, second edition (Los Angeles: Bruce McCallister and Jake Zeitlin, 1929 [1876]), 129, and James DeLong, *Southern California: A Book for the Million* (Kansas City: Ramsey, Millett & Hudson, 1877), 28. Other estimates from that year of thirteen thousand are found in: *Illustrated History of Los Angeles County* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1889), 103; Thompson and West, *History of Los Angeles County, California* (Oakland: Howell-North, 1959 [1880]), 111, and William A. Spalding, comp., *History and Reminiscences, Los Angeles City and County, California* (Los Angeles: J. R. Finnell & Sons Publishing Company, 1931), 218. Benjamin C. Truman's *Semi-Tropical California* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, Publishers, 1874), 27, reckoned thirteen thousand residents in early 1874. An editorial in the *Los Angeles Evening Express* (September 3, 1875), estimated the county population doubled from the 1870 census and, since most growth occurred in Los Angeles, it seems that at least fifteen thousand people were in the city by that date.

lthough six decades old, the standard text the era is Robert Glass Cleland, *Cattle a Thousand Hills* (fourth printing, San rino: Huntington Library, 1975). The above rks by Pitt, Camarillo, del Castillo, and nroy are also standard texts, though not general as Cleland's work. Some useful ormation can be gleaned from popular rks, such as Remi Nadeau's *City-Makers* cond printing: Corona del Mar: Trans-glo Books, 1965) and Harris New-mark, *ty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913* irth edition, Los Angeles: Dawson's Book op, 1970). Relative to demography, Deve- , *Whitewashed Adobe*, 26, refers to the nish-language surnamed population nprising perhaps 80 percent of Los geles-area residents in the 1850s, but only 2 percent within a generation.

hese general descriptions of the opera- s of the courts came largely from an ex- sive reading of California statutes, although re are some secondary sources that give d basic introductions, such as W. W. inson, *Lawyers of Los Angeles* (Los geles: Los Angeles Bar Association, 1959). re were two notable examples of over- ed convictions: the case of William B. facing execution on an 1855 conviction murder and whose case was overturned 856, and the case of several defendants victed in the spring of 1872 of man- ghter in the famous Chinese Massacre e previous October and whose case was d by the court in spring 1873.

iminal court cases from prior to 1860 at the Seaver Center, where they were ently salvaged before being disposed of s ago. In the 1990s, due to the interces- of Los Angeles historians, case files n 1860 to 1880 were moved from the ty archives to the Huntington Library. author developed a database of extant s from both repositories for this study.

an example, the first minute books for ourt of sessions and the district courts ive, along with such scattered records e court of sessions/county court Index 854–1879 and a court of sessions Crimi- Business log for 1852–1856 at the Seaver er, but these cover only the first two (1850 and 1851) of the period. A minute from the county court from the 1860 4 period was also found at the Hunting- ibrary.

[16] *People v. James P. Johnson*, Case 322, 4 August 1857, Los Angeles District Court, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.

[17] *People v. Tomas, an Indian*, Case 396, July 22, 1859, Los Angeles District Court, Seaver Center.

[18] Notes from *People v. Lawrence Embers*, unknown date [December 1860], documents 119-124, Benjamin I. Hayes Papers, MSS C-E 78, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[19] Notes from *People v. [Francisco] Pancho Daniel*, unknown date [probably early 1858], documents 87-92, Hayes Papers, MSS C-E 78, Bancroft Library.

[20] *People v. G. Henry Watson*, Case 509, July 13, 1860, Los Angeles Court of Sessions, Huntington Library.

[21] *People v. Chico Espinoza*, Case 331, October 20, 1857, Los Angeles Court of Sessions, Seaver Center.

[22] *People v. Felipe Canedo*, Case 343, December 20, 1857, Los Angeles Court of Sessions, Seaver Center.

[23] There are a very few cases with more qualitative material than the cases referred to above, and their low number in proportion to the total number of cases would not provide an adequate sample from which to draw definitive conclusions about the general operation of Los Angeles courts.

[24] A comparative source of the proportion of these three cases to the larger record is found in the *Los Angeles Herald*, 9 August 1902, where a compilation of case outcomes compiled by district attorney (and later U.S. senator) Stephen M. White showed that, between 1850 and 1885, where the total number of cases contained was 1,961, larcenies comprised 45.2 percent of all cases; assaults amounted to 21.4 percent; and murder to 10.4 percent.

[25] A comparative document and a rare example of a surviving court record is a defendant index from the court of sessions for the years 1854–1863 which shows that Spanish-surnamed defendants comprised 58 percent of the 316 individuals listed and Americans and Europeans made up 36 percent of the total. Defendant Index, Los Angeles Court of sessions, 1854–1863, Seaver Center.

[26] Paul T. Hietter, "A Surprising Amount of Justice: The Experience of Mexican and Racial Minority Defendants Charged with Serious Crimes in Arizona, 1865-1920," *Pacific Historical Review*, 70:2 (May 2001), 183-219. Though not concerned with criminal cases, Charles McClain's *In Search of Equality: The Chinese Struggle against Discrimination in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994) does demonstrate through careful and intensive legal research that the Chinese, rather than being passive and help-less victims, were able to marshal resources to challenge egregious discriminatory legislation in the courts and, surprisingly often, win. A recent book by Clare McKanna, *Race and Homicide in Nineteenth-Century California* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2002) concludes that judicial racism was endemic to the several California counties (not including Los Angeles) that he studied, although the argument could be made that collating data from very different parts (geographically, ethnically distributed, culturally) and then combining them into a composite, representative set of data can be interpretively problematic, especially when the study's title indicates that the book deals with the state as whole, but really encompasses a small minority of its counties.

[27] See the 1850–1885 published table of criminal cases and outcomes the *Los Angeles Herald*, August 9, 1902, which shows that, for the three major crime groups discussed in this article, the figures are: Assaults: 419 cases with 253 convictions, or 60.4 percent, and 166 acquittals/dismissals, or 39.6 percent; Larcenies: 887 cases with 593 convictions, or 66.9 percent, and 294 acquittals/dismissals, or 33.1 percent; and Homicides: 203 cases with 89 convictions, or 43.8 percent, and 114 acquittals/dismissals, or 56.2 percent.

A CULT OF BEAUTY : THE PUBLIC LIFE AND CIVIC WORK OF LAURA LYON WHITE, PP 40-61

[1] A few relevant citations documenting the nature of women's civic activism during this period would include: Dorothea Moore, "The Work of the Women's Clubs in California," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 517 (September 1906), 257-260; Mary Ritter Beard, *Women's Work*

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in the Municipalities (New York: National Municipal League, 1915); Estelle Freedmen, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870–1930," *Feminist Studies* (Fall 1979), 512-528; Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991); Kathryn Kish Sklar, Florence Kelley and the *Nation's Work: The Rise of Women's Political Culture, 1830–1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). Citations linking women's civic activism to their interest in nature include Maureen Flanagan, "The City Profitable, The City Livable: Environmental Policy, Gender, and Power in Chicago in the 1910s," *Journal of Urban History* (January 1996), 163-190; Cameron Binkley, "'No Better Heritage than Living Trees—Women's Clubs & Early Conservation in Humboldt County," *Western History Quarterly* (Summer 2002), 179-203; and Jack E. Davis, "'Conservation Is Now a Dead Word,' Marjory Stoneman Douglas and the Transformation of American Environmentalism," *Environmental History* (January 2003), 53-76.

[2]Edward F. O'Day, *Varied Types* (San Francisco: Town Talk Press, 1915), 320-323.

[3]This article is informed by: Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820–1860," *American Quarterly* (Summer 1966), 151-174; Daniel Scott Smith, "Family Limitation, Sexual Control and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America," in *A Heritage of Her Own*, ed. Nancy F. Cott and Elizabeth H. Peck (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 222-245; Karen Blair, *The Club Woman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868– 1914* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980); and Vera Norwood, *Made from this Earth: American Women and Nature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

[4]This story is related in Frances A. Groff, "A Queen of Clubs," *Sunset* 28 (May 1912), 597.

[5]"Mrs. Lovell White," *San Francisco Examiner* (January 19, 1916), 3; and Frona Eunice Wait Colburn, "Mrs. Lovell White—As I Knew Her," *Overland Monthly* 82 (October 1923), 3-4, 41.

[6]Information from the Office of the Registrar, Oberlin College, June 22, 2000.

[7]"Mrs. Lovell White is Claimed by Death: Activities on Behalf of Public are Recalled," *San Francisco Chronicle* (January 19, 1916), 3.

[8]"Records of the Ladies' Literary Society" (1850–1952), item 24 under Women's History Guide, Oberlin College Archives website, www.oberlin.edu/~archive/resources/women; and *Minutes Book of the Young Ladies Lyceum, 1856–1860*, entry dates March 7, 24, and 31, 1857, April-October 27, 1857, passim, Oberlin College Archives (Thanks to Tammy L. Martin). See also, Rachel F. Seidman, "The Ladies Literary Society: Oberlin's Early Feminists," *Oberlin Alumni Magazine* 83 (Fall 1987), 14-15.

[9]Colburn, "Mrs. Lovell White," 3.

[10]For economic reasons, hydraulic mining was outlawed in California by a federal judge in 1884.

[11]See Gray Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), for more detail on the activities of W. Ralston.

[12]Jean Symmes (White family in-law), interview by author, Mill Valley, January 19, 2000.

[13]Colburn, "Mrs. Lovell White," 3; "Mrs. Lovell White," *San Francisco Examiner* (January 19, 1916), 3.

[14]Laura Lyon White, "An Episode of River Mining," *Overland Monthly* 15 (January 1890), 26-28.

[15]Laura Lyon White, "A Day's Fishing on the Coos," *Overland Monthly* 12 (December 1888), 609.

[16]Laura Lyon White, "A Day in the Redwoods of Lagoon Creek," *Overland Monthly* 18 (September 1891), 259.

[17]Colburn, "Mrs. Lovell White," 3.

[18]Groff, "A Queen of Clubs," 598.

[19]Symmes, interview by author; Barry Spitz, *Mill Valley, The Early Years* (Mill Valley: Potero Meadows Publishing Company, 1997), 49.

[20]Mary S. Gibson, *A Record of Twenty-five Years of The California Federation of Women's Clubs, 1900–1925* (San Francisco: California Federation of Women's Clubs, 1927), 5-6.

[21]Colburn, "Mrs. Lovell White," 3.

[22]Edward F. O'Day, *Varied Types* (San Francisco: Town Talk Press, 1915), 320.

[23]Groff, "Queen of Clubs," 598. White's willingness to test but not exceed the limits of social convention is illustrated by her attitude toward hiking: White promoted practical dress reforms but suffered every snag to avoid wearing "male" attire. See White, "A Day in the Redwoods of Lagoon Creek," 257.

[24]Gibson, *Record of Twenty-five Years*, 5-7.

[25]For programs of the California Club, see *The California Club, 1898-1899* (San Francisco: California Club, 1899), 4, 7-8; *Year-Book of the California Club of California 1904-1905* (San Francisco: California Club, 1905), 9, 21-22; Dorothea Moore, "The Work of the Women's Clubs in California," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (September 1906), 258; and California Club, *State and National Legislation, International Legislation, Municipal Work Accomplished and Underway by the California Club since Its Organization* (San Francisco: California Club, 1916), in California Club of California folder, Ephemera Collection, California Histori-cal Society, San Francisco.

[26]*The California Club, 1898-1899*, 4, 7-8.

[27]Mrs. Lovell White, *Annual Report*, January 13, 1906, 1, in Sempervirens Club Records (No. 1979-2628), box 1, folder 14, History San Jose Research Library, San Jose.

[28]"Clubs of Women," *Los Angeles Times* (January 18, 1900), 12.

[29]Mrs. Robert J. Burdette, "Address of Welcome to the Women's Clubs of California Assembled for the State Federation," January 16, 1900, 12-13, in possession of author. See also Gibson, *Record of Twenty-five Years*, 9-10, 12.

[30]"Lumbermen Threaten Calaveras Big Trees," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 12, 1900, 2; Joseph H. Engbeck, Jr., The Giant Sequoias (Berkeley: University of California, 1973), 95-96.

[31]Gibson, *Record of Twenty-five Years*, 175.

[32]"Big-Tree Bill is Signed by the President," *San Francisco Call*, March 19, 1900, 1; Engbeck, Jr., *The Giant Sequoias*, 95-96; and Gibson, *Record of Twenty-five Years*, 175.

[33]Mrs. Lovell White to Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, Feb. 26, 1901, reel 110, box 69, folder 4, George and Phoebe Apperson Hearst Papers, 1849-1926, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Colburn, "Mrs. Lovell White," 4; and "Unique Home for Rich Man: Giant Sequoias from Calaveras Grove to be Utilized," *New York Times*, January 25, 1903, 25.

olburn, "Mrs. Lovell White," 4; Gibson, *ord of Twenty-five Years*, 176; Moore, rk of the Women's Clubs," 258.

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Goes to Work in Aid of Forests: Mrs. Lo- White Departs Today to Attend Conserva- Commission," *San Francisco Call*, Dec. 908.

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rs. Lovell White, *Annual Report*, January 906, 6, in Sempervirens Club Records 1979-2628), box 1, folder 14, History Jose Research Library, San Jose.

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olburn, "Mrs. Lovell White," 4, 41.

olburn, "Mrs. Lovell White," 4.

ilson, *City Beautiful Movement*, 82.

lifornia Club, "State and National Legis- n . . ."; and Mrs. Arthur W. Cornwall, "California Club Vaudeville," April 16, 1912, 2, in California Club folder, Ephemera Collection, California Historical Society, San Francisco.

[52]California Club, "State and National Legislation . . ."; and Cornwall, "California Club Vaudeville."

[53]*Club Life* 1, no. 5 (September 1902), 1 (See also California Club, *Year-Book, 1905–1906*, 51-52); "Active Step Will Be Taken to Remedy Disfigurement of City," *San Francisco Chronicle* (July 14, 1903), 7.

[54]"Klyce History of the Outdoor Art Club, 1902-1940," 11, manuscript by original club member in archives of Outdoor Art Club, Mill Valley.

[55]Laura White quoted in "Excerpts about the Ralston Whites and their Home from Jean Barand's 1979 Mill Valley Public Library Oral History" (December 9, 1994), White Family folder, Mill Valley Public Library, Mill Valley. Quote by Irene Coffin (daughter of cofounder Louise Coffin) in Barry Spitz, *Mill Valley, The Early Years* (Mill Valley: Potrero Meadows Publishing Co., 1997), 135. The clubhouse is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. It was White herself who contacted Maybeck.

[56]O'Day, Varied Types, 324.

[57]California Outdoor Art League, "California Outdoor Art League" (San Francisco, 1902), pamphlet in San Francisco Clubs and Associations, Special Collections, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[58]"California Club Absorbs Outdoor Art League: New Department Added to Influential Women's Organization, Officers Nominated for Term of Ensuing Year," *San Francisco Examiner* (April 5 1905), clipping in *Records of the California Club, 1904–1905*, California Club offices, San Francisco.

[59]Mrs. Lovell White, Chairman Telegraph Hill Committee, California Club, to the Board of Supervisors, City and County of San Francisco, September 1912, California Historical Society, San Francisco.

[60]Robert O'Brien, "The Story of Telegraph Hill - Part V," *San Francisco Examiner* (July 23, 1947), in "Telegraph Hill," Riptides file, 229, California Historical Society, San Francisco; "Telegraph Hill to be Protected in Future," *San Francisco Examiner* (April 20, 1904) and "Deny Permit for Blasting" (May 1904), unknown paper, clippings in *California Club, 1904–1905*; California Club offices, San Francisco; and California Club, State and National Legislation . . ."

[61]Mrs. Lovell White to Mrs. George Hearst, August 11, 1912, reel 110, box 69, folder 4, Hearst Papers.

[62]Mrs. Lovell White, Chairman Telegraph Hill Committee, California Club, to the Board of Supervisors, City and County of San Francisco, September 1912, California Historical Society, San Francisco.

[63]Mrs. Lovell White to Mrs. George Hearst, August 11, 1912, reel 110, box 69, folder 4, Hearst Papers.

[64]The notion of using Telegraph Hill as part of a City Beautiful design was also one of the many unfulfilled features of the Burnham Plan to rebuild San Francisco following the 1906 earthquake.

[65]"Women Plan to Buy Marin's Primeval Grove of Redwoods: Clubs are Stirred," unknown paper, November 1904, clipping in *California Club, 1904–1905*, California Club offices, San Francisco; "Talk of Buying Redwood Canyon: Civic Clubs Consider Proposition to Purchase the Marin County Tract to Save It from Lumbermen," *San Francisco Chronicle* (November 20, 1904).

[66]Elizabeth T. Kent, *William Kent, Independent: A Biography* (unpublished manuscript at Stanford University, 1950), 178-179.

[67]Elizabeth Kent, *William Kent, Independent*, 178-179.

[68]William Kent, "Tamalpais as a National Park," address delivered September 12, 1903, box 64, folder 48, William Kent Family Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

[69]See Anne F. Hyde, "William Kent: The Puzzle of Progressive Conservationists," in *California Progressivism Revisited*, edited by William Deverell and Tom Sitton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 36-38, for a good analysis of Kent's conservation philosophy.

[70]Elizabeth Kent, *William Kent, Independent*, 178-179.

[71]Elizabeth Kent, *William Kent, Independent*, 178-179; Morely, 4.

[72]Invitation of the Outdoor Art League, California Club (January 19, 1908), in California Club folder, San Francisco Public Library History Center.

NOTES

[73]O'Day, *Varied Types*, 323; Mrs. Lovell White, "Children's Playground in National Forest," Speech presented to the Playground Association of America (May 10, 1913), in *1910, Mrs. Lovell White*, scrapbook in California Club offices, San Francisco.

[74]John Muir to Mrs. Lovell White, June 21, 1907, in *Outdoor Art League*, scrapbook in California Club offices, San Francisco.

[75]Gibson, *Record of Twenty-five Years*, 221.

[76]"Woman's Convention Is Electric: President Answers Charges," *San Francisco Examiner* (April 12, 1910), in box 6 (news clippings), Sierra Club Records, Bancroft Library, University of California. The dam's destructiveness later demonstrated this claim to be false.

[77]"Club Notes," unknown paper, June 1, 1910, clipping in *California Club, 1910–1911*; un-identified clippings in *1910, Mrs. Lovell White*; and "Mrs. White Wields California Gavel: First Meeting of Women's Club Under New Regime Well Attended," unknown paper (September 10, 1910), clipping in *California Club, 1910–1911*, scrapbook in California Club offices, San Francisco.

[78]Mrs. Lovell White to Mrs. Phoebe A Hearst, September 28 and October 3, 191 reel 76, box 49, folder 9, Hearst Papers.

[79]Gibson, *Record of Twenty-five Years*, 15 153; "Mrs. Lovell White," San Francisco E aminer (January 19, 1916), 3.

[80]Stephen Fox *John Muir and His Legacy The American Conservation Movement* (Bos ton: Little, Brown and Company, 1981), 107-108. John James Audubon also cited th role of birds in controlling insects but wa more interested in their beauty and song.

[81]Groff, "Queen of Clubs," 598.

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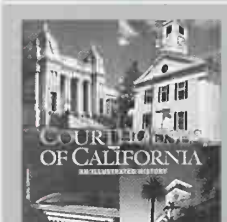

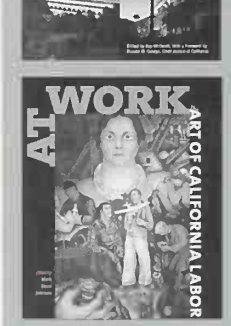

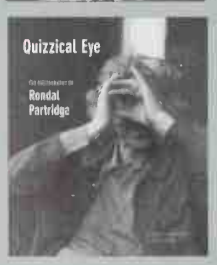

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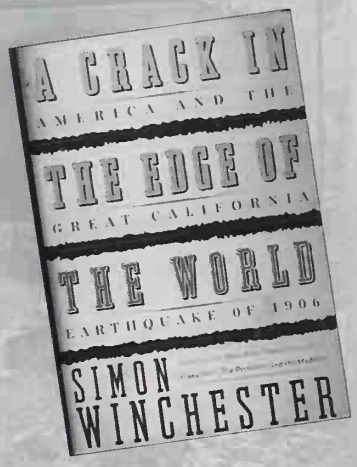

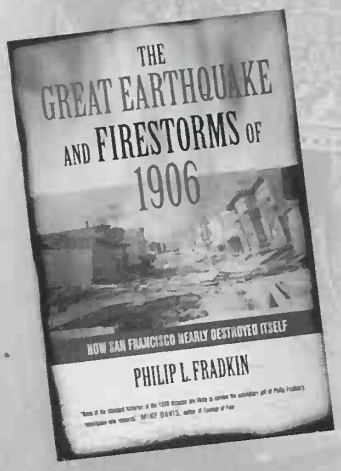

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REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

THE SAN FRANCISCO WASP: AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY

By Richard Samuel West (Easthampton, MA: Periodyssey Press, 2004, 327 pp., $75)

REVIEWED BY JAMES J. RAWLS, REVIEWS EDITOR, CALIFORNIA HISTORY, AND CO-AUTHOR OF CALIFORNIA: AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY

Surely the most familiar cliché with which to begin or end a review in these pages runs something like this: "This volume deserves a place in the collection of anyone interested in the history of California." As tired as these words may be, they are perfectly suited for Richard Samuel West's stunning collection of political cartoons from the pages of San Francisco's feisty journal of incisive wit and crusading xenophobia, *The Wasp*.

West offers a compelling narrative of the history of the journal from its first issue in 1876 until its sputtering demise in 1941. During its heyday in the late nineteenth century, *The Wasp* was the most widely read magazine on the Pacific Coast. West has done well to set its story within the broader context of political machinations, ethnic tensions, and journalistic rivalries. The magazine's editorial stridency, evident even in its first issue, strikes a tone that many contemporary readers may find appropriate in the face of twenty-first-century malfeasance: "Never, in the history of any country with a history, have such frauds been perpetrated openly, publicly and aboveboard, and still been borne with patience by the outraged people."

The Wasp's political cartoons opposing Chinese immigration appear in these pages in all their snarling rage. West makes his greatest contribution by analyzing and sorting the anti-Chinese cartoons into broad categories—noting, for instance, those which depict the Chinese as an infestation, as ruthless competitors, or as an immoral class. West's sober judgment is unflinching: "Its hate-filled cartoons remind us of the corrosive, blinding effects of bigotry." Yet he also reminds us that in other matters *The Wasp* "was a force for good, puncturing sham, afflicting the comfortable, bringing down the wicked, and advancing the cause of political reform."

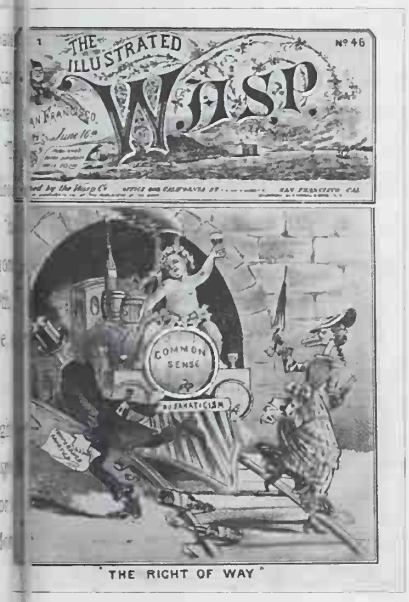
With the contributions of Ambrose Bierce, commencing in 1881, *The Wasp* likely achieved its greatest readership and impact. The misanthropic words of Bitter Bierce remain discerning: "We are not enamored of the world as it is. We find it peopled with . . .

mostly fools, and it is our custom
set forth and illustrate this unsati
factory state of affairs by instancin
conspicuous examples." Among th
latter were such unfortunates as hi
torian Hubert Howe Bancroft, flail
by Bierce as "a literary imposter" a
"an uneducated person who canno
write grammatically, even in the on
tongue that he incorrectly speaks."
The Big Four were Bierce's greate
nemeses, portrayed in political car-
toons as pigs, two-headed monster
dragons, and (of course) octopi. "Th
morbid, itching greed of the railroa
owners," stormed editor Bierce, "h
grown as fast as their possessions
have grown, until limitless wealth,
any cost to the State and people, i
their apparent ambition."

Complementing the text are eight
eight full-color plates of *The Wasp's*
political cartoons, a gold mine for i
structors of California history. Most

The San Francisco Illustrated Wasp, California Historical Society

these astonishing illustrations, awn from West's personal collec- n, have not appeared in print since eir original publication more than entury ago. These chromolitho- phic images are invaluable icons, ndows into the lost world of late neteenth-century California.



THE LAND OF ORANGE GROVES AND JAILS: UPTON SINCLAIR'S CALIFORNIA

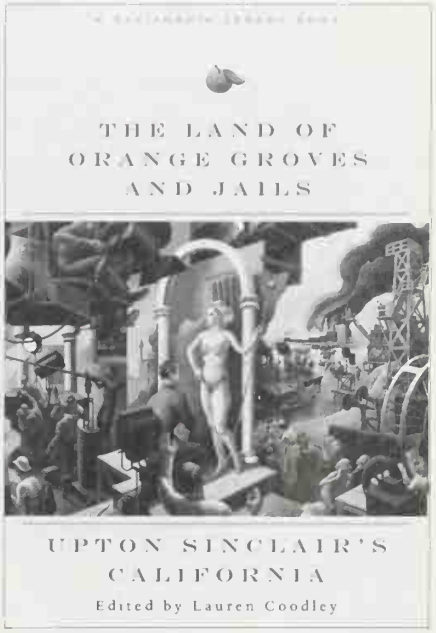
Edited by Lauren Coodley (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2004, 215pp., $16.95 paper)

REVIEWED BY CHARLES WOLLENBERG, INSTRUCTOR OF HISTORY, VISTA COLLEGE, AND AUTHOR OF *GOLDEN GATE METROPOLIS* AND *ALL DELIBERATE SPEED*, AND EDITOR OF *PHOTOGRAPHING THE SECOND GOLD RUSH*

Upton Sinclair had a passion for writing. He admitted that "I am seldom really interested in anything except the writing of a book." That may explain his extraordinary literary output. During his long life (1878–1968), Sinclair published ninety books and numerous articles and pamphlets. Fiction and nonfiction, poetry and prose, essays and drama; all were grist for his literary mill. Born in Baltimore, he spent his formative years on the East Coast but moved to Pasadena in 1915 and remained in California for the next fifty years. The bulk of his writing, then, was produced in the Golden State.

Sinclair's other great public passion was socialist politics. He described his discovery of socialism in his early twenties as "the falling down of prison walls about my mind." For the rest of his life, he followed his particular vision of socialism, sometimes breaking with fellow leftists to support American intervention in World War I or condemn Stalinism after World War II. Most of his writing was in the service of political ideals. This was true of *The Jungle*, his searing expose of the Chicago meatpacking industry, and it is also applies to the California pieces included in this book. And it was in California that Sinclair engaged in his most audacious political exercise—a 1934 campaign for governor based on his EPIC (End Poverty in California) program. Characteristically, he started the campaign with a book, a bestseller entitled *I, Governor of California and How I Ended Poverty.*

Lauren Coodley has included a representative sample of Sinclair's California writings in *Land of Orange Groves and Jails*, co-published by Heyday Books and Santa Clara University as part of their California Legacy series. The title comes from a Wobbly description of California, and the book contains Sinclair's condemna-



tion of the violation of IWW members' rights during the 1923 San Pedro harbor strike. There is also a spirited defense of the civil liberties of radical young women who operated a summer camp in San Bernardino County, as well as caustic criticisms of Hollywood (four of Sinclair's novels were made into movies), and the author's extensive discussion of alcohol, physical exercise, and diet. For Sinclair, a healthy lifestyle was essential to a productive career in writing and radical politics. His father had been an alcoholic, and Sinclair lamented the effects of alcoholism on friends and fellow writers like Jack London and George Sterling.

The book also contains some of Sinclair's best California fiction, including a chapter from the novel *Oil* and a devastating portrait of William Randolph Hearst, taken from one of Sinclair's antifascist novels published during World War II. Finally, there is a detailed explanation of the EPIC program and an excerpt from his appropriately titled, *I, Candidate for Governor: And How I Got Licked.* Almost all of the book's segments deal with southern California, a reflection of the fact that Sinclair spent virtually all of his California years south of the Tehachapis. He lived in the state for more than twenty years before he saw a redwood forest. (Naturally, that experience moved him to write another book, *The Gnomobile*, a conservationist novel for children that was later made into a Disney movie.) Coodley enhances the collection with informative editorial commentaries, though she might have also included a brief chronological summary of Sinclair's life. She makes no bones about her admiration for Sinclair and ably defends his literary and political reputation. She argues he "has perhaps never been as relevant as he is right now." Yet the book largely ignores the last twenty-five years of his life, containing nothing written after the beginning of World War II. Coodley has chosen instead to concentrate on the inter-war period, the time of Sinclair's greatest California productivity and influence. Those were indeed his salad years, two decades when Upton Sinclair was an important political figure and an immensely popular author. Unlike many leftists, he did not just preach to the converted but tried to sell his political principles to the American mainstream. What his books lacked in literary style, they made up for in clear, no-nonsense prose that spoke directly to middle and working class Americans. He created entertaining formats and appealed to his readers' sense of common decency and justice. In the process, he made his mark on California literary and political history. And above all else, Upton Sinclair kept on writing. "Whenever I am bored," he said, "I have a way of retiring to a hidden level of consciousness and starting work on the next chapter."

ALTADENA: BETWEEN WILDERNESS AND CIT

By Michele Zack (Altadena: Altader Historical Society, 2004, 231 pp., $3

GARDEN OF THE SUN: A HISTORY OF THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY 1772–1939

By Wallace Smith, edited and revise by William Seacrest, Jr. (Fresno, CA Linden Publishing, 2004, orig. 1961 860 pp., $39.95)

IMAGES OF AMERICA: SANTA ROSA

By Simone Wilson (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2004, 128 pp., $19.99)

REVIEWED BY EDIE SPARKS, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC

These three books present different approaches to local or regional history. For me they raised the questions: who reads local histories and what do they want out of them? If these books are any indication, there is not a single answer.

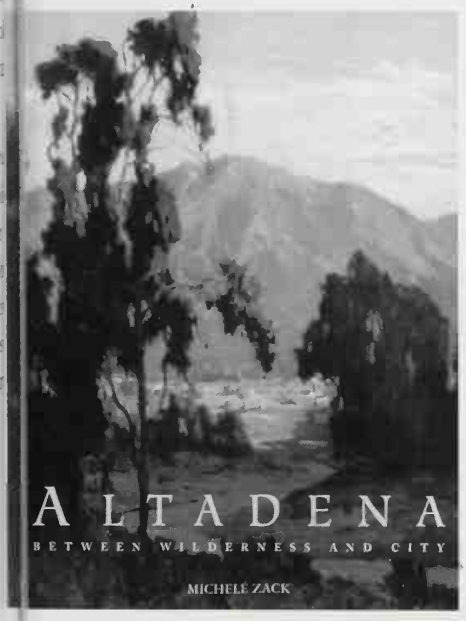
In Simone Wilson's *Images of America: Santa Rosa*, 128 pages of historic photos and captions lead the reader through the city's history. Residents will appreciate the attention to reinvented landmarks. This focus gives the book currency for contemporary

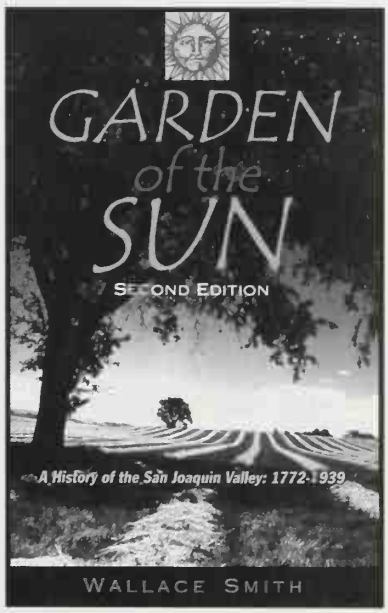
nta Rosans and underscores the
v's pride in and protection of its
tory. It is, however, a selective his-
t y, imposed no doubt in part by a
arth of material but also, I suspect
the book's nostalgic look back. With
ater effort a more diverse portrait
the city might have emerged (the
ef attention paid to the city's Mexi-
c origin, for example, is surprising
d disappointing). The book's the-
tic organization submerges change
er time since even within chapters
author does not provide a cohe-
s e portrait of the city in each his-
t ical era. No doubt this makes the
k more appealing to its intended
a lience—clearly not serious readers
historians since it contains almost
text and lacks dates in many cap-
t ns. This is local history lite.

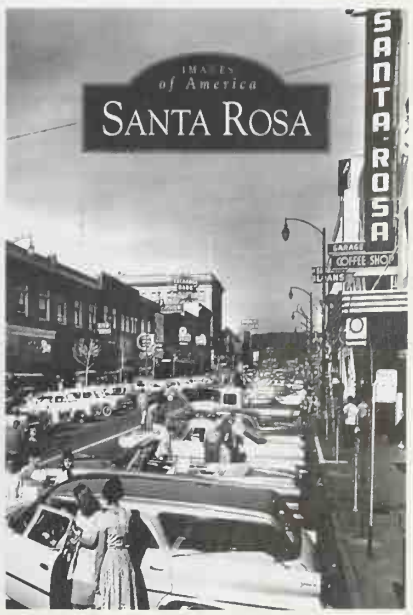
I contrast, *Garden of the Sun: A His-
y of the San Joaquin Valley: 1772–
9* by Wallace Smith is a more than
s en-hundred-page tome devoted to documenting the history of one of California's most under-studied yet important regions. In this edition, William B. Seacrest, Jr., has made substantial improvements to the footnotes, supplementing Smith's sparse documentation with a more thorough accounting of the books' genesis, as well as fact-checking the entire text (resulting in substantial changes) and expanding the bibliography (partially annotated). Still, serious historians will be frustrated by frequent citations for "sources reliable but uncertain" throughout the footnotes that were added by Seacrest. These undermine the credibility of the text, especially since the editor does not explain what this means and since in other places he determines that Smith's sources were "unreliable." Nonetheless, the book remains a useful starting place for study of the San Joaquin Valley. Readers should expect a text reflective of its original 1939 publication date.

With the exception of the first chapter entitled "Redskins," *Garden of the Sun* is a series of stories about "great white men." But they are good stories for, as his editor attests, Smith is a good storyteller. Dramatic and imaginative descriptions will draw readers in as they get to know the missionaries, ranchers, outlaws, farmers, and railroad men who helped to make the San Joaquin Valley the "Garden of the Sun."

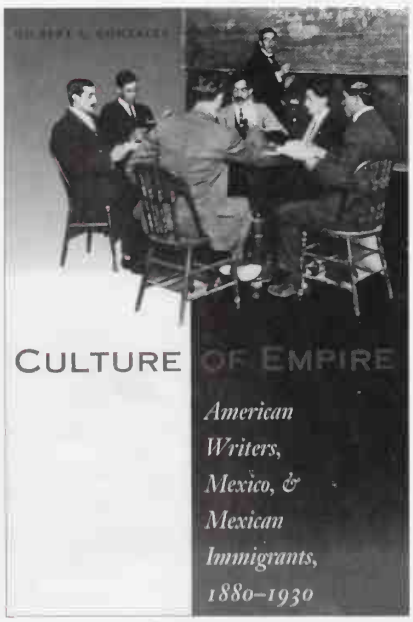
In *Altadena: Between Wilderness and City*, Michele Zack combines historic photographs, maps, documents and images of the landscape with thoughtful text. The result is a beautiful, intelligent, and thorough account of this small southern California town's history. With more than two hundred pages organized in an oversized format, the book is wisely designed for browsing with introductory summaries, helpful subheadings, insets highlighting important people and







interesting stories, an "eclectic" timeline, a bibliography listing both primary and secondary sources, and a useful index. These features make the book accessible. Readers won't feel compelled to read the book cover to cover but will find the story it presents compelling enough to pick it up over and over again. The text reflects careful research, encompasses a conversational style, and provides fantastic contextualization connecting local, regional, state and national histories. Although the book inherently celebrates Altadena, Zack does not shy away from topics such as smog and anti-integration that do not glorify the city's heritage. Readers will appreciate her even-handed treatment of controversy and diversity as well as her ability to make history relevant to residents in the twenty-first century. *Altadena: Between Wilderness and City* is, in my view, a model for how to bring local history alive for readers.



CULTURE OF EMPIRE: AMERICAN WRITERS, MEXICO, AND MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS, 1880–1930

By Gilbert G. Gonzalez (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004, 245 pp., $50 cloth, $22.95 paper)

BECOMING NEIGHBORS IN A MEXICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY: POWER, CONFLICT, AND SOLIDARITY

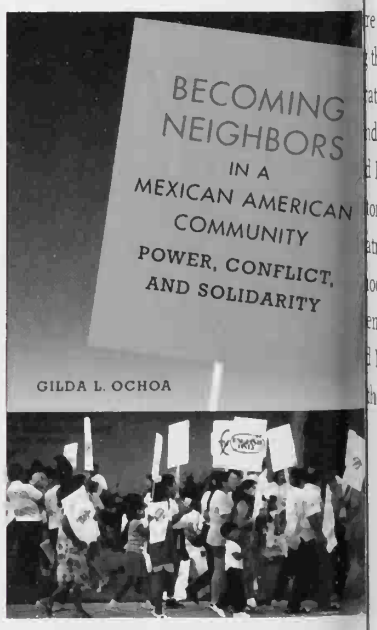
By Gilda L. Ochoa (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004, 272 pp., $55 cloth, $21.95 paper)

REVIEWED BY MANUEL G. GONZALES, INSTRUCTOR OF HISTORY AT DIABLO VALLEY COLLEGE AND AUTHOR OF *MEXICANOS: A HISTORY OF MEXICANS IN THE UNITED STATES*

The most pervasive theme of the history of Mexicans in the United States is undoubtedly immigration, the subject of the two volumes under consideration. Gilda Ochoa's *Becoming Neighbors* makes a welcome contribution to the mushrooming literature on Spanish-speaking communities in the United States. Specifically she examines her hometown, La Puente, California, a city just east of Los Angeles. More importantly, centering on La Puente, Ochoa examines the relations between immigrant and native-born Latinos, a key aspect of immigration that, rather surprisingly, has not garnered the scholarly attention it merits. Less surprising, given cultural affinities and economic competition, is her conclusion: today members of both groups maintain a highly ambivalent attitude towards one another.

A work of sociology, this volume spends more time on methodology than historians generally like to see. Nevertheless, *Becoming Neighbors* is a well documented and informative study. Teachers at all levels of education will find Ochoa's focus on schools especially helpful.

Gilbert Gonzalez, a senior scholar with an impressive body of work, is far more ambitious than Ochoa. In *Culture of Empire* the author attempts to relate the treatment of Mexican immigrants in this country to American economic penetration into Mexico after the 1880s.



e author argues that Americans viting Mexico between 1880 and 30 created negative images of Mexicans primarily to justify U.S. economic exploitation of Latin America. These stereotypes were adopted by American educators as they attempted to accommodate large numbers of Mexican immigrants and, the author concludes that the mistreatment of these newcomers is largely a consequence of American imperialism, a view that challenges the tradition interpretation that racism is at the heart of the problem.

Professor Gonzalez is to be commended for trying to relate the growth of the American Empire (a hot topic these days) to immigration, but in the last analysis his argument is less than compelling. The program of Americanization that Gonzalez condemns would have been imposed on Mexican children in the United States whether Americans had had previous contact with Mexico or not. In fact, the children of European immigrants were faced with similar policies during this period. And if efforts to acculturate Mexicans were more heavy handed than those aimed at Italian and Polish children, it was the race factor that explains the difference. The treatment of Mexicans in American schools, I suspect, was not much different than what African Americans and Native Americans encountered in these same institutions.

THE ISLAND CHUMASH: BEHAVIORAL ECOLOGY OF A MARITIME SOCIETY

By Douglas J. Kennett (Berkeley: University of California, 2005, 298 pp., $35 cloth)

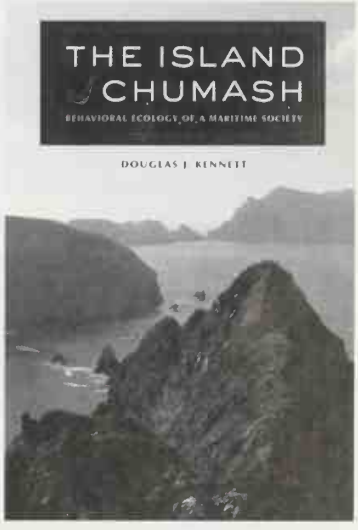
THE CHUMASH AND THE PRESIDIO OF SANTA BARBARA: EVOLUTION OF A RELATIONSHIP, 1782–1823

REVIEWED BY ROBERTA S. GREENWOOD, GREENWOOD AND ASSOCIATES, PACIFIC PALISADES, CA, AUTHOR OF MANY PUBLICATIONS ON THE CHUMASH INDIANS AND THE CALIFORNIA MISSIONS

These two books are different in approach and vocabulary but present a valuable chronological continuum and new material in the expanding literature about southern California's Native American people. *The Island Chumash* describes the settlement patterns, way of life, and trade relationships in this maritime environment during the terminal Pleistocene and Holocene years, touching the historical period only to mention villages on the four northern Channel Islands after contact. Duggan, on the other hand, takes up the narrative after Santa Barbara mission and presidio had already been established, and focuses narrowly on the Indians' complex relationships with the latter.

Kennett draws together updated archaeological and ethnohistoric data to test various explanatory models about subsistence patterns, social organization, spatial and seasonal variation in village locations, population flux, patterns of exchange, and craft specialization. He weighs questions such as whether wealth was a product of, or a basis for, social status in reviewing the development of sociopolitical complexity in the Late Period. One of the most valuable contributions of the book is the review and synthesis of pioneer and current theories about life on the islands, and the degree to which older hypotheses are congruent with new data.

Kennett offers a detailed review of strategies such as maritime foraging, intensification and distribution, and competition within a strong emphasis on the environmental context, and defines his interpretation of human behavioral ecology. Overly simplified here, his model posits the formation of social hierarchies as a density-dependent phenomenon that occurs in regions where resources are unevenly distributed. Where all economically favored locations are settled, or resources inaccessible, and



emigration is not an option, social hierarchies will develop.

Archaeologists will find this data-packed volume the newest, best, and most even-handed synthesis of Channel Islands Chumash research. It is a good example of the relevance of ethnohistory, a useful illustration of the archaeological method and theoretical approach, and a comprehensive reference for the Channel Islands.

Duggan's slim volume is altogether different, narrowly focused on the economic relationships between the Chumash of mainland Santa Barbara, the presidio, and the mission primarily between 1782 and 1823. The buildings of both the secular and religious communities were largely built by Indian hands, their crops and flocks tended by the Native Americans, and many necessities of life made by newly trained neophytes. She describes how the military and missionaries competed for Indian labor, the interdependence of the three groups, and the manner in which the Chumash sought to maximize their rewards and, eventually, express their resistance. The negotiation and cooperation of the early years yielded to rising tensions, and the relative equilibrium between military and religious authority was ended by the Chumash Revolt of 1824 and ultimately, by secularization of the mission. While much has been written about the missions, this is a new insight into the role of the military in relationship both to the Indians and the local mission, an altogether new and vivid picture of the interaction between small groups.

THE OATMAN MASSACRE: A TALE OF DESERT CAPTIVITY AND SURVIVAL

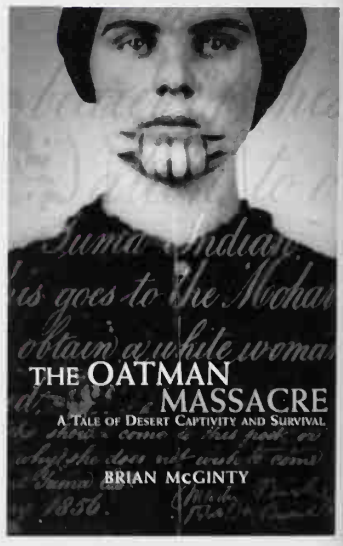
By Brian McGinty (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005, 288 pp., $27.95 cloth)

REVIEWED BY MICHAEL MAGLIARI, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, CHICO

On February 18, 1851, a band of Yavapai warriors attacked Roys Oatman and his family as they headed west alone in a single wagon along the Gila River, about 120 miles east of present-day Yuma, Arizona. Only three of the Oatmans survived. Fourteen-year-old Lorenzo managed to escape, but his younger sisters Olive (aged 13) and Mary Ann (8) were taken into captivity by the Yavapai and eventually sold to neighboring Mojave Indians residing along the lower Colorado River. Although Mary Ann succumbed to starvation in 1855, Olive was finally located and liberated in February 1856.

Among the most famous episodes of the frontier Southwest, the "Oatman Massacre" and the subsequent captivity of the Oatman girls have also been among the most misunderstood. According to Brian McGinty, this is largely the fault of Royal B. Stratton, the Methodist minister who, in 1857, penned his highly influential *Captivity of the Oatman Girls*. A classic example of that unique American literary genre, the Indian captivity narrative, Stratton's work was an immediate best seller. Unfortunately, it was also a highly unreliable source that, as McGinty pointedly observes, "strayed repeatedly from the factual record, omitted many essential details, and, even worse, was "permeated with a glaring anti-Indian bias" that was "almost suffocating" (pp. 5-6).

Arguing that the Oatman saga needs to be retold, McGinty seeks to peel back "the accumulated misinformation of a century and a half" that is the legacy of Stratton's book. In *The Oatman Massacre*, McGinty does a fine job of using newspaper accounts, government documents, and other primary sources to correct the errors and fill in some of the large blanks left by Stratton. Regrettably, the care with which McGinty reconstructs the Oatman ordeal is entirely absent from his analysis of Stratton's book. Confronted with the reverend's prolific use of harsh adjectives such as "heathen" and "savage" when describing most Indians, McGinty is far too quick to dismiss Stratton's text as



ere "propaganda designed to jus- y whites' relentless encroachment Indian lands" (p. 162).

ch a hasty and simplistic conclusion nores the significance of Stratton's ethodist faith. As a Protestant min- er writing a captivity narrative, Strat- n joined a distinguished lineage at stretched back to Increase and tton Mather in Puritan New Eng- nd. For such literary divines, cap- ity narratives served as vehicles religious instruction. By providing eting tales of horror and suffer- g followed by deliverance and demption, they aimed to demon- ate the sustaining power of prayer, e consolation of faith, and the ulti- ate mercy of a just but inscrutable od. *Captivity of the Oatman Girls* s no exception.

Clearly, McGinty would have profited from deeper reading in the scholarly literature devoted to the captivity narrative. Missing from his references are essential works that would have been very corrective here, including those by Richard Slotkin, Richard VanDer-Beets, Gary Ebersole, Alden Vaughn, and Edward Clark.

McGinty also neglects the large literature linking Methodism with the antislavery and Indian reform movements. Consequently, he lacks the insights necessary for accurately interpreting Stratton's "vehemently anti-Indian tone" (p. 164). Despite its obvious biases, Stratton's text drew deliberate distinctions not only between individual Indian people but also between the different tribes encountered by the Oatmans during their ill-fated journey. Descriptions of the agricultural Pimas, for example, contrast sharply with those of the Apaches and Comanches, as do the dissimilar depictions of the Yavapais and Mojaves. By showing that not all Indians were "bad" or "the same," such contrasts helped justify Stratton's concluding plea for a more humane, albeit assimilationist, federal Indian policy.

All this eludes McGinty, who can see nothing but "anti-Indian posturing" in Stratton's book (p. 201). Ironically, in his eagerness to strip Stratton's text "of its heavy baggage of prejudice" (p. 6), McGinty contributes to the legacy of misperception he sets out to correct.

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SPOTLIGHT

PHOTOGRAPHER
Russell Reed for the Oakland Tribune

LOCATION
Oakland Speedway, Oakland, California

PRIZE PILE-UP

This photograph of a stock car pileup at the Oakland Speedway won the sports photograph of the year award from Life *magazine in 1952. Photographer Russell Reed won a number of national awards for the* Oakland Tribune *and served on its staff for more than forty years. The Bay Area newspaper had emphasized photojournalism beginning in 1905 with its hiring of Jack Gunin, who was probably the West's first full-time news photographer. In 1995 the paper, founded in 1874, donated its photo "morgue" to the Oakland Museum of California.*

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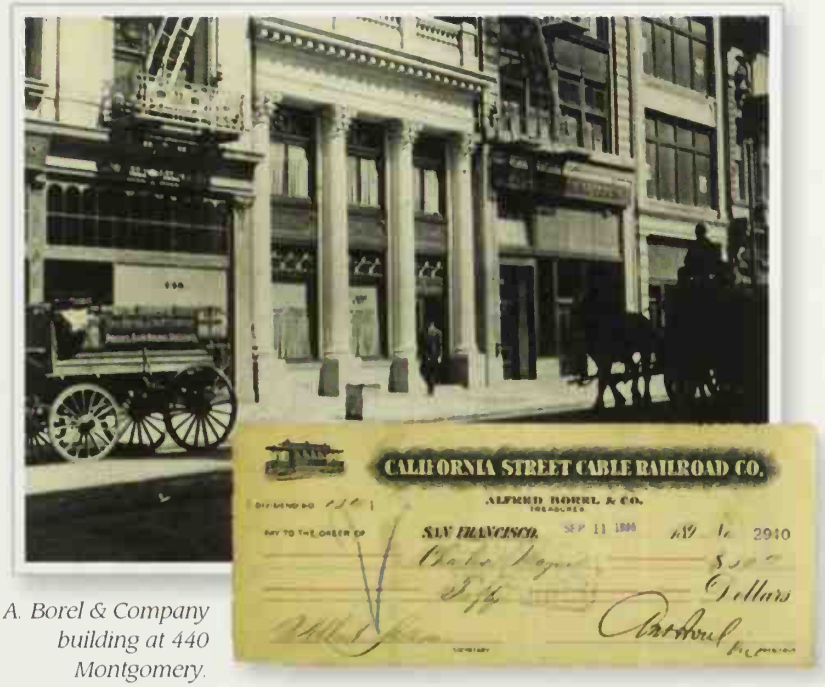

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Los Angeles's first jail, c. 1860. In the city's early years, its court system and law enforcement were seen by many citizens as inept and ineffective. There were very few law enforcement officials and attorneys needed few qualifications to be admitted to the bar.

TICOR/Pierce Collection, California Historical Society, USC Special Collections

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